Early Writings of Walter Lippmann *James Reston*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

A Journal of Politics and the Arts — August 1, 1970, 50 cents

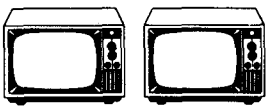
The Lockheed Scandal

James G. Phillips

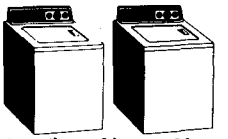
Southern Comfort —*John Osborne*
Taming of the Congo —*Russell Howe*
And Now, Mercury —*Daniel Zwerdling*
View from the Rockies —*Paul Wieck*
Sexual Politics —*Jonathan Yardley*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

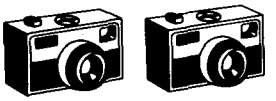
Which should you buy ?



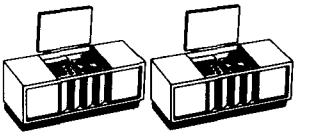
A color TV set priced at $359.95 . . .
OR
another unit priced at $429.95?



An automatic washing machine priced at an average of $206.18 . . .
OR
another model priced at an average of $254.98?



An instant-load autoexposure camera priced at $69.95 . . .
OR
another model priced at $119.50?



A radio-phono console priced at $379.95 . . .
OR
another console priced at $499.95?

THE ANSWERS to the questions above show how easily you and your family can lose money each year in your search for quality. The fact is that you, like so many others, may be buying virtually "blindfolded." For example:

On the basis of impartial laboratory tests, the color TV set priced at $359.95 was judged better in overall quality than the model priced at $429.95. (Possible saving: up to $70.00)

The washing machine priced at an average of $254.98 was judged inferior in washing ability to the model priced at an average of $206.18. (Possible saving: up to $48.80)

The instant-load autoexposure camera priced at $69.95 was top rated over similar models priced as high as $119.50. (Possible saving: up to $49.55)

The radio-phono console priced at $379.95 was judged better in overall quality than the console priced at $499.95 and was rated a "Best Buy." (Possible saving: up to $120.00)

These "hidden" values and savings were revealed in recent issues of *Consumer Reports*. Hundreds of products like these are rated in the latest 448-page issue of the famous *Consumer Reports Buying Guide*. A copy is yours as a gift with a one year subscription to *Consumer Reports*.

How these impartial tests are made

Consumer Reports is published monthly by Consumers Union, a nonprofit, public-service organization. CU has *absolutely no connection* with any manufacturer and prohibits the use of its findings for promotional purposes. It accepts no advertising, no "gifts" or "loans" of products for testing, no contributions from any commercial interest; it derives its income from the sale of its publications to over 1,500,000 subscribers and newsstand buyers all over the U.S.

Consumers Union's own shoppers buy, on the open market, random samples of automobiles, clothing, foods, household appliances and supplies, photographic and sports equipment, cosmetics, hi-fi components, and most other kinds of products you may be thinking of buying. These are tested comparatively by chemists and engineers. Each regular monthly issue of *Consumer Reports* brings you the latest findings, with ratings by brand name and model number as "Best Buy," "Acceptable" or "Not Acceptable."

Facts you need for your family's welfare

In addition, *Consumer Reports* brings you a wide range of authoritative—sometimes startling—articles. You regularly receive candid, down-to-earth discussions of deceptive packaging practices (with examples cited by name), advertising claims, credit buying and the actual cost of credit . . . honest reports on vitamins and other drugs . . . revealing facts about new, highly promoted gadgets that are often a waste of money.

"Hidden" values and savings discovered for you

Here are a few more examples of the "hidden" values and savings discovered in the CU laboratories:

. . . a portable circular saw priced at $24.95 was judged better in overall quality than another model priced at $49.95. (Possible saving: up to $25.00)

. . . a coffee urn priced at $13.95 was top-rated over other models priced anywhere up to $45.95 and was judged a "Best Buy." (Possible saving: up to $32.00)

. . . a stereo amplifier kit priced at $64.95 was judged better in overall quality than a unit priced at $99.95 and was rated a "Best Buy." (Possible saving: up to $35.00)

"Read, respected and feared"

The frank reporting of Consumers Union has won wide acclaim. *Time* calls Consumers Union "The best known tester of consumer goods in the U.S." *Newsweek* says, "The magazine with the most decisive word on the quality of products is probably *Consumer Reports*." *The National Observer* calls it . . . "read, respected and feared."

Save $5.10 immediately

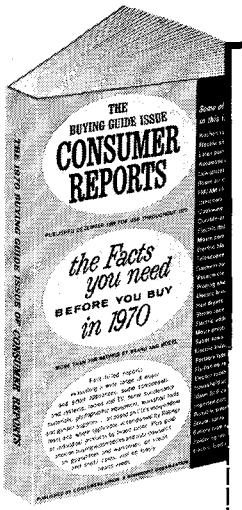
Subscribe now and you will receive as a bonus the brand new 1970 *Consumer Reports Buying Guide Issue* which rates over 2,000 products. You will also receive the 1971 Buying Guide when published plus regular issues featuring test reports on food mixers, television sets, 8mm movie cameras, washing machines, raincoats, bench saws, home permanents, stereo receivers, FM auto radios, food waste disposers, loudspeakers, outboard motors and many other products.

If purchased separately, all this amounts to an $11.10 value. With the coupon on this page, you save $5.10. And your subscription might end up not costing you a cent: thousands have told us *Consumer Reports* helped them save up to $100 a year or more.

FREE with your subscription to *Consumer Reports* the brand new 448-page *Consumer Reports Buying Guide* Issue

Partial listing of contents.
Many of these products are rated comparatively; general buying guidance is given for all.

Paints
Inexpensive slide projectors
Antenna amplifiers
Audio components
Convertible sofas
FM fringe antennas
Auto cleaner-polishes
Power Tools
Tent heaters
Household timers
Fire extinguishers
Projection screens
Air mattresses
Zigzag sewing machines
Hi-fi stereo kits
Electric toothbrushes
Portable dishwashers
Automatic clothes washers
Recommended used cars
Floor waxes and wax removers
Lawn mowers
Outboard boats
Television sets
Cameras
Fabric softeners
Caulking compounds
Laundry bleaches
Spinning tackle
Camp stoves
Radio-phono consoles
Crib mattresses
Life preservers
Room heaters
Slide viewers
Bacon
Electric vaporizers
Guitars
Boys' jeans
Clothes dryers
Electric coffeemakers
Radios
Vacuum cleaners
Refrigerators



SAVE $5.10 IMMEDIATELY FROM THE NEWSSTAND PRICE

HERE'S HOW

YOU GET the next 12 issues of *Consumer Reports*, including the *Buying Guide Issue* for 1971 when it is published. Total newsstand price $8.85

YOU GET the brand new 448-page *Buying Guide Issue* for 1970 now. Newsstand price 2.25

TOTAL $11.10

YOU PAY ONLY 6.00

YOU SAVE $5.10

CONSUMERS UNION, P.O. Box **2955** Clinton, Iowa 52732

Please enter my subscription to CONSUMER REPORTS for a full year (12 issues) at just $6.00, and send me the brand new 448-page *Consumer Reports Buying Guide Issue* as a bonus. My subscription will also include the 1971 Buying Guide Issue when published. Bill me later.

NAME _____
(please print)

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____

If you wish, you may benefit from the reduced rate for two or three years. Simply check the period you prefer.

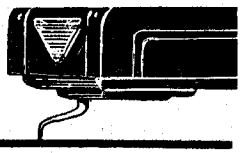
You may cancel at any time, and receive full credit or refund for the undelivered portion of your subscription.

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me

1—026—7— 1 8 7 0 5

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

waxing verbal



an unprecedented selection of spoken records now available to New Republic readers.

2. BLACK PIONEERS IN AMERICAN HISTORY $6.50

4. IN WHITE AMERICA
Martin Duberman $6.98

7. F.D.R. SPEAKS
Set of seven LPs $7.50

10. SONGS OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR
2 LPs $11.90

15. BERTRAND RUSSELL
Life, Love, etc. $6.50

16. GEORGE BERNARD SHAW
Some of his broadcasts $5.95

19. ULYSSES $6.50

21. LANGSTON HUGHES
Simple Stories $6.50

26. ALICE'S ADVENTURES IN WONDERLAND
w/Cyril Ritchard $6.95

28. ORSON WELLES READING WHITMAN'S SONG OF MYSELF $5.95

31. THE LOVE POEMS OF JOHN DONNE
Read by Richard Burton $6.50

34. THE INVESTIGATOR
CBC satire $5.98

37. PETER USTINOV IN CONVERSATION $5.95

38. TOM LEHRER—THAT WAS THE YEAR THAT WAS $4.98

39. MARK TWAIN TONIGHT
Hal Holbrook $5.95

43. UNDER MILKWOOD
Dylan Thomas $6.50

58. BIBLE AND THE SCHOOLS
Justice William O. Douglas $4.98

73. LENNY BRUCE
Berkeley Concert $6.95

79. LAST POETS
Contemporary Negro Poetry $4.98

121. WAR OF THE WORLDS
Original Radio Broadcast $5.95

295. STAN FREBERG'S UNITED STATES OF AMERICA $5.95

377. E. E. CUMMINGS
Read by the poet $6.50

403. W. E. B. DuBOIS $6.50

465. ERNEST HEMINGWAY READING $6.50

480. MIKE NICHOLS & ELAINE MAY $4.98

558. MARSHALL McLUHAN
The Medium Is The Massage $4.95

587. OGDEN NASH $6.50

589. ANTHOLOGY OF NEGRO POETS $6.50

625. a. EZRA POUND—SELECTIONS $6.50

b. EZRA POUND—SELECTIONS $6.50

643. LE PETIT PRINCE
Saint-Exupery $4.98

686. SPANISH POETRY
Pablo Neruda $6.50

754. RUSSIAN POETRY
Yevtushenko and Voznesensky $5.95

814. LIVING LANGUAGE RECORDS
French $9.98

827. LIVING LANGUAGE RECORDS
Spanish $9.98

834. BEYOND THE FRINGE $5.98

868. DICK GREGORY $4.98

871W. GEORGE WALD
Speech at M.I.T. $6.50

877. YOU'RE A GOOD MAN, CHARLIE BROWN $1.99

878. THE WIT AND WISDOM OF WILL ROGERS
2 LPs $13.00

WAXING VERBAL (New Republic)
1244 - 19th Street, N.W., Dept. WV
Washington, D.C. 20036 TNR081

Please send the records whose numbers I have circled below.

2	4	7	10	15	16	19
21	26	28	31	34	37	38
39	43	58	73	79	121	295
377	403	465	480	558	587	589
625	643	686	754	814	827	834
868	871W	877	878			

I enclose $_____ plus 30c for postage and handling. (Add 10c for each additional selection.)

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____

Zip Code_____

The New Republic is published 48 weeks per year at $12, by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey Inc., 1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and at additional mailing offices.

LICENSED TO ARIZONA
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRB®

from Washington

The Nixon Zigzag

There they sat at one end of the horseshoe dais – seven Republican senators on the finance committee, in a great paneled room rising 30-feet high, looking as solemn and uncomfortable as though on stoves. They are the group that is holding up the $4.1 billion Family Assistance Program, the most revolutionary social welfare concept since Franklin Roosevelt. They loathe the bill.

What a crew. What a fix Mr. Nixon has put them in. And what an extraordinary thing that it is he who crashed through with this radical plan, an income maintenance program that would put a floor of $1600 under every indigent family of four. The Democrats didn't offer such a bill; Lyndon Johnson didn't dare to. And here is Richard Nixon pressing it, the least likely man, I should have said since, well, since Coolidge.

Liberals are funny, too; they recoil; they just can't believe it; they think it is either booby-trapped or a figment of the imagination. They circle round and round it criticizing it, denouncing it because it is Columbus' New World but without any skyscrapers on it.

There are 17 on the finance committee under chairman Russell Long, 10 Democrats and 7 Republicans. A majority of Democrats favor the great plan. But not the Republicans. They are conservatives from small states: Williams, Del.; Bennett, Utah; Curtis, Neb.; Miller, Iowa; Jordan, Idaho; Fannin, Arizona; Hansen, Wyoming. The seven states are so sparsely populated that between them they send only 18 members to the House (California alone sends 38). They have been infiltrating the powerful finance committee for generations to keep down taxes and help Western interests, and now Mr. Nixon, their own President, has done this to them. There they sat, perched together like crows on a limb, staring down unhappily.

Witness Elliot Richardson, new secretary of HEW, did a fine job testifying with just the right mix of coolness and deference. He has a lingering trace of Ivy League accent and almost disarmed hostile Senator Curtis by responding to a sharp question in a congratulatory tone, "You have identified a very critical and important problem!"

The scope of this plan is staggering. It would reach 24.4 million needy people. It will feed hungry kids. It will open the way to national health insurance. But it means government aid. No wonder small-state Republicans blanch and shudder.

It is a spectacular sample of what, surely, is one of the most paradoxical Administrations that ever came to Washington. We watch it every day, trying to catch its central theme. Maybe you know; we don't. Take, for example, this pop press conference that Mr. Nixon sprung last week. No notice, he just materialized out of a White House isolation that has offered only 12 press conferences in a year and a half. (FDR had them twice a week.)

Mr. Nixon obviously appeared to reassure two allies, Republican Sen. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and President Thieu of the Republic of South Vietnam. The situation for Messrs. Thurmond and Thieu was much the same. They had promises; they began to doubt them. Mr. Nixon attempted to explain and left the situation as cloudy as ever. That's the story of the Administration. Sometimes Southern strategy and deescalation in Vietnam seem interchangeable.

Take Thurmond first. Without him Mr. Nixon wouldn't be President. He swung just enough Southern states from George Wallace to put Mr. Nixon over. What promises were made we don't know, but the Haynsworth-Carswell appointments certainly pleased Thurmond. Then recently the Administration zigzagged the other way; it declared the new segregation academies in the South aren't going to be tax-exempt after all. That blew it.

The South Carolina fighting cock rose in the Senate and declared, "As recently as Feb. 19, 1970, the President assured me positively that he supported the continuance of the tax-exempt status of private schools. The people of the South were counting upon the President's word."

Well – did he, or didn't he? More of that later. In the meantime President Thieu in a TV interview charged in effect that Mr. Nixon is saying one thing and Secretary of State Rogers another about Thieu's willingness to accept an elected coalition government and some form of shared power with the Communists. Mr. Thieu was upset. He sounded like an Oriental Strom Thurmond.

At his press conference Mr. Nixon said, in effect to both men, there, there, it's going to be all right! He assured President Thieu that there is perfect understanding. Both countries want free elections. Thieu says the Communists can participate in those elections, Mr. Nixon explained, and in the "supervisory bodies" for the elections, and Thieu will "accept the result of the election, whatever that result might be." As a reporter pointed out, there is just the little point that Thieu says he won't allow any Communist candidates to run.

Mr. Nixon responded blandly that the "general proposals that he and his government" made at the Paris peace talks "have indicated that all political parties in South Vietnam could participate in the political process. And I do not understand that President Thieu has departed from that proposition."

So that explains it. Perfect understanding. The only slight difficulty is that President Thieu's political opponents may end up in tiger cages.

And we think Strom Thurmond needn't worry too much either about taxation of segregated schools though Mr. Nixon didn't spell it out. In Florida, Clarke Reed, chairman of the GOP party executives in the South, told the Florida State Committee not to get excited. Revenue Service Commissioner Thrower, he told them, had assured him that he would accept as evidence of private school nondiscrimination "published statements of policy." Just say you are obeying the law, and the revenooers will look the other way. Sen. Mondale (D, Minn.) is going to look into this. He looked into migrant workers, now into the new chapter of school desegregation. An impressive figure. We think Mondale is of Presidential caliber.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Politics and the Arts, Vol. 163, No. 5, Issue 2901, August 1, 1970. Published weekly (48 issues a year) and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 50c. Yearly subscription $12; Foreign $13; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6; Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of address to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.* *Copyright© 1970 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in Readers' Guide.*

Contents

5-10 Comment
Turning from Confrontation, Trade War?, Bureaucratic Reshuffles, Love It or Leave It, '70 Candidates, Campus Politics

11 Scott of Pennsylvania – *Eliot Marshall*

12 View from the Rockies – *Paul Wieck*

13 The Nixon Watch: Southern Comfort – *John Osborne*

15 Taming of the Congo – *Russell Warren Howe*

17 And Now, Mercury – *Daniel Zwerdling*

19 The Lockheed Scandal: What Really Happened? – *James G. Phillips*

24 Films – *Stanley Kauffmann*

25 Books – Reviews by *James Reston, Jonathan Yardley*

25 Poem – *Allen Tate*

32 Television – *Sedulus*

33 Correspondence

The Staff

Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor – Alex Campbell
Literary Editor – Reed Whittemore
Films and Theater – Stanley Kauffmann
Associate Editors – David Sanford, Joseph Featherstone, John Osborne
Production Manager – Ira Klafter
Assistant to the Editors – Gwen Somers
Contributing Editors – Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Robert Coles, Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson, James Ridgeway, Paul R. Wieck
S.E. Asia Correspondent – Zalin B. Grant
London Correspondent – Anthony Howard
Publisher – Robert J. Myers
Circulation Manager – Bertha Lehman
Business Manager – Reubena Faulconer
Advertising Director – F. F. McAdams
20 West 43rd St., New York, N. Y. 10036

Turning from Confrontation

Much unintentional light was thrown on the weakness of our foreign policy by President Nixon's Freudian slip at his latest news conference. Talking about the Middle East, he said: "I have indicated that the Soviet movement not just of weapons but of men to Vietnam to man the weapons causes us concern, because if that continues it could upset the balance of power." He meant of course to say "to Egypt," not to Vietnam. But that's the point the Russians can turn against him anytime they choose. As long as this country keeps 400,000 or even 200,000 troops in South Vietnam, fighting an undeclared war, it cannot convincingly claim that the Russians have no right to put 8000 or even 12,000 troops in Egypt.

The worst way to try to resolve this contradiction is to assert boldly that it doesn't exist, to argue that it's wrong for the Russians to put troops anywhere because their aim is spreading communism, whereas it's necessary and noble for the United States to put troops abroad in order to contain communist influence. No prudent diplomacy can rest on the fallacious assumption that because *I* do it, it's right, and because *you* do it, it's wrong. And the Israelis know this. Yet Israel's Ambassador, Yitzhak Rabin, told newsmen on NBC television July 19 that, "The Middle East has become now not just a conflict between Israel and the Arab countries, it has become interwoven in the global struggle which is going on, in various parts of the globe. Therefore I would say that very much will be dependent on what will be the outcome of the global struggle and its effect on the Middle East and not only as a result of agreement or disagreement between local countries."

The Ambassador's statement was perhaps intended to support Henry Kissinger's careless remark earlier in the month about the need to "expel" Soviet forces from Egypt. But the Administration has several times sought to erase the Kissinger verb from the record, and last week Mr. Nixon rubbed at it again. He said it only meant that once there was a peace settlement in the Middle East, there would surely be no further need for Russian troops in Egypt. That is of course his hope; but first catch your peace settlement. In order to give Washington's June 25 "peace initiative every chance to succeed," said Mr. Nixon, "we have not announced any sale of planes or deliveries of planes to Israel at this time." Nevertheless, the Administra-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion does "intend to support the security of Israel" – the words are Assistant Secretary Sisco's, not the President's, but they accurately describe White House policy. The intention is admirable, the question is how to make it stick. There is a risk of the policy's falling between two stools. On the one hand, there is this grandiose talk about "expelling" Russians from the Middle East, as part of some global anti-Communist design (which is simultaneously used to justify a residual presence of GIs in South Vietnam). But the Administration also is bending over backwards to make a "peace initiative" work in the Middle East, by seeming to refrain from delivering planes and other military equipment that *are* essential to "the security of Israel." That kind of broken-backed policy, if pursued, may soon prove to be in the worst interests of both Israel and of this country.

Israel should get the planes and arms it needs for defense. Received in that context and on that understanding, Phantoms for Israel need not damage the chances for a negotiated settlement and might conceivably help them. The Arabs have little incentive to enter into serious negotiations with an Israel that is losing aircraft it cannot replace. The Arabs like other people would resist negotiating with an enemy that was busy bombing them, a fact of life that the US discovered after years of dropping hundreds of tons of bombs on North Vietnam.

Ambassador Rabin and his government believe that the bombing by the Israelis would have forced the Egyptians to restore the cease-fire, except that "since the Soviet Union was interested in preventing the establishment or reestablishment of the cease-fire, they sent their own forces to support the Egyptians, to continue the violation of the cease-fire." Precious little is going to be gained in the way of a real cease-fire or a settlement if that line of thought prevails, for it verges on a thinly veiled call for a showdown confrontation with the Soviet Union; and the Ambassador is the first to recognize that Israel "cannot withstand a massive Russian direct military intervention." Why then, this gamesmanship, when all efforts ought to be put into stopping such intervention, instead of talking almost as if it were only a matter of time?

It is going to be extremely difficult to contrive even a beginning of genuine negotiation. All the more reason to hold the problem firmly in focus and not blur it by vague talk of a "global struggle." Secretary of State Rogers put the immediate difficulties plainly, if also plaintively, when he said June 25 that the trouble was to get the parties together in a "negotiating stance – and I am now speaking about in the same city, or in adjacent buildings, or on different floors of the same building, or different rooms on the same floor." What Rogers proposed in June was a cease-fire of at least 90 days – during which there was presumably to be no military buildup – and a further attempt at mediation by the Swedish diplomat, Gunnar Jarring.

The Rogers procedures have been accepted, contemptuously and conditionally, by President Nasser. The proposal was better received by the Soviet Union, which has in fact emitted some faintly encouraging but slightly ambiguous noises about the American stand. President Nasser went to Moscow to discuss the Rogers plan as well as to have medical treatment for his mild case of diabetes. The ensuing Soviet-Egyptian communique left the door slightly ajar, saying carefully that Nasser and Kosygin hold "similar" (but not identical) views. That appears to mean that, whatever their ultimate ambitions in the Middle East, the Russians would now rather have the pot simmer down than boil more furiously. So, obviously, would Mr. Nixon. And so would Israel, whose life, after all, is at stake. Abba Eban, the Israeli foreign minister, says his government accepts the United Nations Security Council resolution of November 1967, that called among other things for Israeli withdrawal from Arab territories occupied in the June 1967 war. Israeli politicians have said it before, but then the statement provoked strong protests within Israel. It did not this time. Rogers said June 25 that Eban had "indicated that if the negotiations once start, the Arabs would be surprised at the concessions Israel might make." Including what the UN resolution calls (without defining) "a just settlement of the refugee problem"? However, Israel does not intend, and the UN resolution did not ask, withdrawal from *all* occupied areas, which is one of Nasser's conditions. In dispute are Syria's Golan Heights, deemed by many essential to Israel's defense.

It is close to impossible to visualize Nasser agreeing to discuss a settlement that would leave the Golan Heights in Israeli hands, unless the Syrians themselves consent – and they haven't consented, yet. And if they were, under strong pressure, to consent, there would still remain the Palestinian commandos – surely the most turbulent force in Middle East politics. The commandos waited no time at all to denounce the Rogers proposals, and a cease-fire that left the *fedayeen* free to go on firing would be a mockery.

So one is left with only the slenderest hope for an end to the fighting and a settlement soon. Very much depends on the Russians pushing for it. Will they – or will they follow the American example in Vietnam, blindly beefing up Nasser militarily without softening his policy, as Mr. Nixon goes on propping up the Thieu regime while refusing to pressure it into more conciliatory ways? It is in that sense only that the Middle East is interwoven in a global pattern. The Soviet Union may let itself be bogged down in Egypt as this country has in Vietnam, and we shall all be the worse off for it. But that wholly gloomy prospect is not foreordained.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Trade War?

Members of Congress are under strong pressure from industries to provide protection against imports, but President Nixon last week made plain to Wilbur Mills and the House Ways and Means Committee that he is highly unwilling to let those pressures be transferred to him. The Committee wants to make import quotas mandatory, unless the President specifically rules them against the national interest, thus removing Congress from the line of fire and putting the President right out in front to be shot at. The Administration has reluctantly accepted textile quotas, but with Mills seeking to extend quotas to footwear and then all over, Mr. Nixon dug in and says he will "certainly" veto a trade bill containing provisions he does not recommend.

The sharp tone was no doubt honed by the Mills Committee having tossed out the President's one major trade proposal, to repeal the "American Selling Price," which is a device that puts a high duty on some imported chemicals. Repeal was agreed to by American negotiators back in 1967, as part of a package that concluded the "Kennedy Round" of trade talks. Failure to repeal ASP could touch off a trade war with the European Common Market, where a conflict already threatens over other trade matters. An attempt will be made this week to stave off this war, at a meeting in Geneva of leading members of GATT, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The President's rebuff to import quotas won't hurt those discussions.

Commerce Secretary Stans is complaining, however, that the European Common Market is playing this country for "Uncle Sucker." Four years ago, the Europeans introduced the variable import levy, which had the effect of tripling protection of European farm products against imports; American farm sales to Europe thereupon fell by about a fifth. Yet, in spite of the variable import levy, US total farm sales to the European Common Market have doubled since the Market was formed in 1958.

Mr. Nixon makes two good points. He says that quotas are highly inflationary and thus penalize American consumers who have to pay more for what they buy. And he says that as the United States is primarily an exporting not an importing nation, quotas will also hurt employment, because other countries will proceed to discriminate against American goods sent abroad. The President did not use figures, but others have estimated that textile and footwear quotas might raise prices of clothing and shoes by 20 percent, or a rise of $200 a year for a family of four. The Administration's acceptance of a textile quota is said to be solely for the purpose of getting the Japanese to apply "voluntary" restraints to their surging textile exports. It may do that, but will do more than that: it will affect other foreign suppliers of textiles adversely – and unnecessarily. Textile imports, after all, account for under five percent of the value and under ten percent of the quantity of textiles sold in the US. The White House had already announced its opposition to a quota on shoe imports June 24, when it said that jobs are plentiful in the shoe industry and that its troubles, such as the high rate of turnover of firms, are unrelated to imports.

But 70 other industries are pressing hard for quota protection, even though American exports, which earn about $37 billion a year and employ 2.7 million workers, show an annual growth rate of eight percent since 1958. Imports have also grown, of course. But imports have been dropping since last year, whereas exports keep going up. Trade restrictions seem bound to hurt more Americans than they help. The correct answer to Japan's $1.4 billion trade surplus with this country is not to restrict Japanese sales here, but to persuade the Japanese to reduce their restraints on American traders and investors. This in fact the Japanese government has promised to do, but is tardy about carrying out. Similarly, the time is ripe to induce the Europeans to reduce their non-tariff barriers to trade, rather than try playing tit for tat by raising barriers against them. European consumers have become literally fed up with home-grown food at exorbitant prices. It's no time to stiffen them into making uneconomic concessions to their own farmers by threatening them with a trade war.

Bureaucratic Reshuffles

When government programs don't work, a "blue ribbon" commission is appointed to find out why, or government agencies are reorganized, and life goes on pretty much as it did before. Take pollution. A federal Water Pollution Act was passed in 1948, long before the Age of Aquarius and Ecology. Seventeen years later, in 1965, 90 major interstate waterways remained polluted. (See "And Now, Mercury," page 17.) Three-fourths of the rivers and lakes the government tried to clean up still were filthy. No one – not the major polluters in government and industry and not the taxpayers – was willing to spend the necessary money or make the required commitment. So Congress transferred the federal Water Pollution Control Administration from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to the Department of the Interior, as if that would make a difference.

Half a decade later, in 1970, government innovators are finding newer bottles in which to pour the dirty water. President Nixon, this time, wants to transfer the Federal Water Quality Administration to a new

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

super-agency that would bring together all the government's underfinanced efforts in pollution (air and water), pesticides, solid wastes and so forth. That has a certain logic but nothing will come of it so long as he plans to spend $1.4 billion on a clean-up program that needs several billions more to make a dent.

Another example of the reorganizing mania is the control of dangerous drugs. Since the thirties when prohibition was repealed and replaced in the minds of federal prohibitionists by the marijuana menace, the Narcotics Bureau had a home in the Treasury Department. More recently, HEW was invested with control of LSD and a pharmacopoeia of other potentially hazardous substances. The two agencies played at coordination but were basically antagonistic. The narcs emphasized police work; HEW took a medical tack. They did not even agree between themselves about the properties of the drugs they controlled. Dr. James Goddard lost his job as Commissioner of Food and Drugs at HEW in part because he injudiciously voiced doubts that marijuana is harmful.

With drug arrests rising geometrically, and with federal drug abuse programs not working, it was decided two years ago that the agencies should be merged and moved to the Justice Department so that there could be a truly coordinated and consistent approach. We've seen it all before. President Nixon added to the reshuffling when he wrested the rather creative drug abuse education program from the National Institute of Mental Health at HEW and gave it to an interagency body presided over by Coach Bud Wilkinson, his White House advisor. (Wilkinson let it slip that he didn't know the first thing about drugs. But he was willing to learn, right along with the kids.) There's no proof that the jiggering of agencies made a difference. Dr. John E. Ingersoll, the Director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs at Justice, thinks enforcement isn't working because the courts aren't enforcing the law and letting too many people off on probation. More likely it doesn't work because cops and courts, even tough ones, just aren't deterrents.

The current Administration, not content to leave bad enough alone, wants to supplant all the old drug laws with comprehensive legislation providing for new (generally reduced) penalties, additional drug agents (the Parkinsonian equivalent of rising drug abuse) and a new system for classifying drugs. The original proposal gave Justice authority to determine which drugs are dangerous and to set appropriate penalties for each class of drugs, a scientific role for which lawyers and policemen aren't qualified. Enter again HEW and Dr. Roger Egeberg, the assistant HEW Secretary who believes, with justification, that his doctors are better judges of the drug peril and that enforcing drug laws by itself is no way to end the national drug trip.

The House Commerce health subcommittee last week paid tribute to Egeberg's logic by returning to HEW drug research functions and giving the agency a veto over the Attorney General's drug classifications. It remains for the House to pass a bill and for the subcommittee's changes, if they survive, to be reconciled with what the Senate already has passed.

Love It or Leave It

Texas has two laws on flag abuse. The first, passed in 1917, forbids use of the stars and stripes in advertisements – a misdemeanor punishable by a maximum fine of $100 and 30 days in jail. The second, passed in 1918, carries a maximum penalty of 25 years imprisonment for flag desecration – a felony in Texas. Two men have been jailed under the second law this year. Gary Deeds, a 19-year-old Dallas native, has been found guilty of mutilating an imitation of the flag and sentenced to four years in the state penitentiary. In a demonstration April 19 at a Dallas "hippie park," Deeds and a friend burned a piece of bunting to protest the Vietnam war and the city's treatment of hippies. State prosecutors hoped to win the maximum 25-year conviction against Deeds as a warning for other wayward youth. Deeds tried to argue that he acted within the law that permits destruction of soiled flags. In this case, he claimed, his flag had been dirtied by American foreign policy. The jury was not impressed. His case has been appealed, and he is now free on bond.

Last May, 29-year-old Robert Jones walked into the Dallas County District Attorney's office wearing bell-bottom trousers with flag material sewn into the cuffs. He came to complain about lax police action on an offense he had reported. He was charged with desecration of the flag, arrested, and placed in the "queens walk" of the county jail – a section where police usually keep homosexuals. When he objected, Jones was told he could be transferred if he attempted suicide. Jones took the advice, staged a hanging, and, as he had expected, guards rescued him before he could harm himself. He was then stripped naked and left in a 5 x 8 foot concrete cell with one small window, no bunk, no running water. For a toilet he had a drainage hole in the corner. He was not permitted to shower more than once a week, use the telephone, read, write letters, or smoke. After five days, Jones was placed in a regulation solitary confinement cell. His transfer coincided with the decision of a local lawyer to file suit in federal court charging the Dallas jail with cruel and unjust punishment. Jones was later freed on bond.

Shortly after Gary Deeds' conviction for burning

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an imitation flag, John Albach of the local ACLU chapter charged the Dallas Mercantile Bank with misuse of the flag. Albach said the bank had violated the 1917 state law that forbids printing images of the flag "to which shall be attached, appended, affixed or annexed . . . . any advertisement of any nature." The bank's billboard campaign featured a picture of the flag, the caption "Let's Raise Our Standards," and the signature – "The Mercantile Bank." When the ACLU lawyers first raised the complaint, Assistant District Attorney Doug Mulder said it was "ridiculous" and "not in the spirit of the law." Mercantile Bank spokesmen said that they could not see how their use of the flag could be "in any way disrespectful." They neglected to mention the technical question of illegal advertising. The case was referred to a grand jury, which decided last week to do nothing.

The '70 Candidates

As the group picture of antiwar/new-priorities congressional candidates is about to be snapped, someone moves, steps out or in, or it's discovered that someone has been left out. For instance, incumbent Rep. Silvio O. Conte (R) of the 1st District in Massachusetts should have appeared in *The New Republic*'s most recent candidate list (July 4) and did not. Mr. Conte on May 6 forced a roll call on the Leggett Amendment to get the US out of Cambodia. When this failed, he was one of 69 to vote against the entire military authorization bill. He voted against MIRV, for a $6-billion cut in defense spending, for the Cooper-Church Amendment.

The senatorial candidacy of Pennsylvania's William Sesler (D) has not heretofore been recommended. The omission was not inadvertent. Mr. Sesler's antiwar views were late to form. But in contrast to Republican Hugh Scott's 100 percent backing of Nixon's Indochina policy, Sesler's present position is sterling: an 18-month deadline for "complete withdrawal of our combat forces." Sesler campaign headquarters – 614 North Third St., Harrisburg 17101.

Joseph Duffey, the best of several Democrats vying to fill the seat now occupied by Senator Tom Dodd of Connecticut, got sufficient votes at the recent state party convention to qualify for the Democratic primary, August 19. Duffey's headquarters – 924 Farmington Ave., West Hartford.

Hawkish Sen. Henry Jackson (D) of Washington may, as they say, be unbeatable. But the platform adopted July 11 at his party's state convention remarkably parallels that of Jackson's Democratic opponent in the September 15 primary – Carl Maxey. A majority of the delegates demanded immediate withdrawal from Vietnam (over the opposition of the state chairman).

Two campaigns in Missouri are of interest. The 7th District's Rep. Durward Hall (R), who scored 100 percent wrong in *The New Republic*'s 1968 voting analysis, is being fought in the August 4 primary by a moderate, antiwar Republican, John H. Simmons, 1200 North Summit, Springfield. In Missouri's 8th District, the United Automobile Workers has for the first time endorsed a challenger over an incumbent the union previously supported; the UAW endorsed Clyde Wilson (D) – P.O. Box 268, Columbia. Wilson is competing in the primary against Rep. Richard Ichord.

Virginia is noteworthy. In that state's July 14 primary, all the antiwar candidates named earlier in *The New Republic* won. The victory of George Rawlings – Box 3305, College Station, Fredericksburg – in the race for the Democratic senatorial nomination was razor thin. Since voter turnout was unusually light, primary results are no firm indication of how Virginia candidates will do in November.

Five antiwar candidates have been defeated, or have withdrawn: Al Culhane, CD 15 in California; William Ruttledge (D), now supporting party nominee David R. McCormack in Michigan's 4th District; Eugene Sweeney who bowed out of the 1st District of Connecticut contest in favor of the party-endorsed candidate, Jay Jackson (609 Farmington Ave., Hartford), whom Mr. Sweeney considers "excellent." Three antiwar congressional candidates in New York were primary losers: Edward Fox (District 29), Harvey Bates (District 35), and Hugh Carmichael (District 41).

In Massachusetts, Daniel J. Houton – 392 Boylston St., 4th Floor, Boston – is running as an Independent, not a Democrat, for the seat being vacated by Speaker John McCormack.

The new campaign headquarters of Ed Warman (D) in Illinois' 13th is 4400 Oakton, Skokie 60076; for antiwar candidate Roger Cowan of Tennessee's 2nd District, Box C, Knoxville.

There are a number of worthy office-seekers who announced since *The New Republic*'s last compilation, or who were not known of at the time. Arizona: CD 3 – *Orren Beatty*, P.O. Box 13178, Phoenix 85001. California: CD 6 – *Russell R. Miller* (D), 3636 Washington St., San Francisco; CD 12 – *O'Brien Riordan*, 602 Mission St., Santa Cruz. Delaware: Congressman-at-large – *John D. Daniello* (D), P.O. Box 1849, Wilmington. Kansas: CD 4 – *James C. Juhnke* (D), 104 East Murdock St., Wichita. (Mr. Juhnke's opponent in the August primary is a Wichita attorney, Robert G. Martin, who believes we ought to win the war "in the good old American way.") Maryland: CD 7 – *Carl L. Friedler* (D), 5503 Reisterstown Rd., Baltimore. (Mr. Friedler's September 15 primary opponent was men-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tioned previously – *Parren Mitchell*, 3561 Park Heights Ave., Baltimore.) Massachusetts: CD 9 – two additional candidates in the wide open race to succeed John McCormack: *David Nelson* (D), 7 Marshall St., Boston; and *John White* (Ind.), 1 Warwick St., Roxbury. CD 10 – *Dennis Smith* (D), 41 Harold St., Sharon. Michigan: CD 5 – two Democrats in the August 4 primary, one of whom will face Rep. Gerald Ford in the fall: *Jean McKee*, 6th Floor, Waters Bldg., Grand Rapids; and *Stephen E. Vesbit*, 3455 Assumption, N.E., Grand Rapids. CD 10 – *Bennie Graves* (D), 630 S. Fancher, Mt. Pleasant. CD 11 – *Nino Green* (D), Box 67, Gladstone. Minnesota: CD 3 – *Jerry S. Sorensen* (D), Box 9, Hopkins, who will be running in a September primary against George Rice, listed earlier. *Earl Craig* (D), 1645 Hennepin Ave., Minneapolis, having drawn 21 percent of the delegate vote at the DFL state convention, remains in the race as the antiwar Democratic senatorial challenger of Hubert Humphrey. Ohio: CD 23 – *Ronald M. Mottl* (D), 5393 Pearl Road, Parma. Oklahoma: CD 4 – *Keith Myers*, P.O. Box 186, Hollis 73550, faces the lackluster Democratic incumbent Tom Steed in the primary, August 25. New Hampshire: CD 2 – *Edward W. Gude* (D), Box 70, Canaan. New York: CD 16 – *George McClain* (Liberal), 21 Fiedler Ave., Staten Island 10301; CD 25 – *Bill Dretzin* (D), 45 Beekman Ave., North Tarrytown. Oregon: CD 4 – *James Weaver* (D), 2301 Spring Blvd., Eugene. Pennsylvania: CD 13 – *Frank Romano* (D), 61 Forest Ave., Ambler 19002. Rhode Island: senatorial candidate (against John Pastore) *John J. McLaughlin* (R), 87 Weybosset St., Providence. Vermont: Congressman-at-large – *Dennis Morrisseau* (D), 54 North St., Burlington. Wisconsin: CD 8 – *Robert J. Cornell* (D), St. Norbert College, West De Pere. Washington: CD 1 – *David Hughes* (D), P.O. Box 2567-4, Seattle.

Campus Politics

Under the scrutiny of men like J. Edgar Hoover and Senator Strom Thurmond, university officials have become cautious over the past weeks about how, where and if they can encourage students and faculty to get into politics. In mid-July, the FBI Director caused a commotion with a report to the Attorney General, in which he informed his superior that groups on campuses are working this summer "to encourage the support of political candidates opposed to Administration policies," and are planning "to insist that schools be closed for a period so that students will be free to participate in this activity." Earlier, Senator Thurmond and some of his colleagues sent a tremor through college administration offices with the hint that certain schools might lose their tax-exempt status if they carry this citizenship thing too far.

Section 501 (c) (3) of the tax code states that colleges and other tax-exempt institutions must not "participate in, or otherwise intervene in . . . any political campaign in behalf of any candidate for public office." By giving space to groups like the Movement for a New Congress, might the universities be endangering their privileged tax status? The students' reply was that these newer political organizations are little different from older clubs, such as Young Democrats, Young Republicans, or the SDS. But what of the possible legal complications of the "Princeton Plan," which invites institutions to grant two weeks leave for volunteer campaign duty?

In the midst of this confusion, the American Council on Education formed a committee to study tax and corporate practice laws. It then drafted a brief paper, which it submitted to IRS Commissioner Randolph W. Thrower. With his approval, the guidelines were published June 19. In summary, they recommend that:

► Colleges should not shorten the academic year to permit campaign work. For those participating in the "Princeton Plan," the Council suggests a rearrangement of the calendar: By a change of schedule, the two-week period before election day can take the place of a recess or vacation normally set up for some other time in the year.

► Colleges should not provide rent-free campaign headquarters; they should "make certain that proper and appropriate charges are made and collected for all facilities and services provided." The Council also cautions against "prolonged use of facilities, particularly by nonmembers of the university community."

► College officials, when speaking on political issues, should take care to discriminate between personal and university positions.

► Colleges should determine whether there are special restrictions on facilities paid for by federal funds, and should check state laws on campaign practices.

Some administrators are still unsure of their legal position, however. Since publication of the guidelines, Columbia University has expelled from campus the local chapter of the Movement for a New Congress; no one in the university command has said why; MNC's director at Princeton, Robert Durkee, says Columbia is the only school that has acted so strongly. Stanford has rejected plans for extended student campaigning this fall, in favor of a two-day recess in conjunction with election weekend.

The Council guidelines cannot be definitive; the authors had no court rulings to steer by. But there appears to be little chance of any government crackdown on political activity in the colleges. As long as administrators do not shorten the academic year, commit the institution to a candidate, or provide rent-free campaign quarters, they're in the clear.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Scott of Pennsylvania

Earlier this year a Pennsylvania businessman, Charles C. Holt III, announced he would wage a $1.4 million campaign to replace Senator Hugh Scott this November with a "new, vigorous Nixon Republican." The attempt fizzled even before the primary, but it indicates the endemic hostility towards the Republican Minority Leader; he hasn't proved altogether reliable from the conservative point of view.

Scott's unreliability was shown in the battle over the Hill-Burton hospital construction bill, which contained $350 million more than the Nixon budget planned for and stipulated that the President *must* spend every cent appropriated. Nineteen Republican senators voted to sustain Nixon's veto of the bill. Scott voted to override. The 19 loyalists included some of Scott's familiar opponents: Baker of Tennessee, Dole of Kansas, Goldwater of Arizona – as well as Scott's number one assistant, Robert Griffin. Back in November, Griffin had voted with Scott against Haynsworth, but he since has been edging closer to the White House, at about the same slow speed Scott has been edging away from it. Commentators try to pose Scott and Griffin as competitors for the leadership, but neither man has given any sign that this is so.

Although he has managed to step nimbly around the President's domestic programs, Scott has been true to Nixon on military policy – ABM, Vietnam and Cambodia. Whether that will hurt Scott in November is anyone's guess. His Democratic challenger, State Senator William G. Sesler, is trying hard to become a peace candidate. Three weeks ago in the state senate he introduced a bill – like the Massachusetts legislation – to prohibit Pennsylvanians from fighting in an undeclared war. But Sesler's opponent in the primary pointed out, and Hugh Scott now points out, that Sesler was a hawk as late as January of this year, that in February Sesler was saying that the war "is too grave an issue to bandy about in the political arena." Sesler has not yet got full backing of local Pennsylvania liberal groups; the ADA and the New Democratic Coalition had not as of last week endorsed anyone, though they probably will name Sesler – when he has proven himself "really" antiwar. At present, Senator Scott's opponent looks likely to succumb to the accumulated influence and the financial resources Hugh Scott can bring to bear.

Scott is not shy about his political acumen. The 1976 Bicentennial Independence Celebration Commission had almost finished plans for a multi-city program when Hugh Scott came home from an eight-day visit to England on June 21, went to work on the White House, and by July 4 was able to announce Philadelphia as the central celebration site. "I did it for you, Hugh," said Nixon, "It's a big deal; take credit for it for your campaign." Scott will.

Although the Senator likes to say that he and Nixon are on close terms, he seeks reassurances. Earlier this year, the Senator had the President write a letter saying "We are satisfied with Hugh Scott." Nowadays Scott passes out copies of a speech given in June by Presidential assistant Bryce Harlow: ". . . while this distinguished man has not been with the President 100 percent, he has been with him almost that. That's good enough for us." The Senator also boasts, in the right circles, that *Congressional Quarterly* ranked him the third most consistent Nixon supporter in the Senate on domestic issues, and first on foreign policy.

Scott's enemies call him a "devious, ferocious politician"; his friends just say he can take care of himself. In the Presidential election of 1964, he managed to disassociate himself from the Goldwater crowd early in the season and then side-step the LBJ steamroller in November. He won by 70,000 votes; Goldwater lost the state by almost 1.5 million. Scott has scored well in traditional democratic areas, with the urban Jewish and Negro vote. He risked their displeasure this year by voting for Carswell, but was back on the reservation by refusing to agree to Nixon-backed changes in the Voting Rights Act. He's the kind of man who can get credit in the White House for backing Carswell, and then tell a meeting of blacks in Philadelphia that he's got the only official standing between them and the Administration. In 1968 he voted for a gun control bill which requires that interstate mail orders for rifle and shotgun ammunition be registered by name and address; the following year he sponsored an amendment to repeal this clause.

It will be difficult to defeat Hugh Scott in Pennsylvania, and almost as difficult to remove him from the Republican leadership. His greatest liability is his age. He will be 70 on November 11, and Senators Baker, Dole and Griffin – all in their mid-forties – are waiting, with some impatience. But these men cannot go far without Administration backing. There's even a good chance that Scott could keep the leadership without White House support.

Scott claims it's the "policy people," not he, who have set the stage for congressional-executive battles. The President, he says, "is a highly competitive man. He sometimes wants to run the ball all the way to the opposition goal line by himself." On the Hill-Burton vote, for example, Scott and other Republican leaders warned the President his veto would almost certainly be overridden. Nixon wouldn't budge; he wanted to go on record against mandatory spending. There were also opportunities for compromise on tax reform and the Cooper-Church amendments in the Senate; the Administration stood firm and lost.

Eliot Marshall

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

View from the Rockies

Denver

One of the major battlegrounds in this fall's effort to enlarge the antiwar contingent in Congress runs along the Continental Divide. There isn't today a single resolute foe of the war in the House delegations of Wyoming, Colorado or New Mexico. But this November, antiwar men stand a good chance of taking three of the seven seats, and fights which aren't hopeless are being waged in two others.

Right now, attention is centered on the primaries in Wyoming (Aug. 18) and Colorado (Sept. 8) where veteran Democrats with hawkish proclivities are being challenged. For peace candidates, the biggest obstacle in both places is organized labor. But no one knows whether labor leaders can hold their rank and file in line against an effective campaign stressing the economic impact of Vietnam and its divisive impact at home. If they can't, will they work for antiwar candidates nominated in the primary, in order to defeat conservative Republicans?

Wyoming is a key test. There, the labor vote (railroaders, miners, timber and oil workers) in the southern tier of counties is dominant. Labor leaders are committed to the military-minded Sen. Gale McGee (D), who is opposed in the primary by State Sen. Mike Svilar of Hudson, an antiwar man. But, at this stage, most of these same leaders are also backing ex-Rep. Teno Roncalio (D), an antiwar man who is given an excellent chance of regaining his old seat if he can stay out of the McGee-Svilar hassle and win his own primary next month. Roncalio may be caught in the middle. To illustrate, I had morning coffee with a group of labor panjandrums in Laramie who were interviewing a potential state senate candidate, a man who proposed to run against a prominent antiwar attorney with a perfect labor record in the legislature. One young, crew-cut railroader kept saying: "Tell us again what you think of the anarchists and revolutionaries at the university?" By the time the coffee cups were drained, the newcomer had several pledges of support against "the dissident." (In neighboring Nebraska, AFL-CIO men walked out of the Democratic state convention after ex-Gov. Frank Morrison, who's given a chance of upsetting Sen. Roman Hruska (R), took the platform to endorse the McGovern-Hatfield resolution. The convention subsequently endorsed it.)

Svilar has an uphill fight in Wyoming. He's getting a good press and his style is more relaxed than McGee's, an asset in a state where politics is highly personal. Still, his forces aren't yet well organized. There is anti-McGee feeling in the party, which might be exploited, traceable to the arrogant handling of the 1968 state convention, when doves were systematically struck from the approved list and had to go to the floor to get a spot on the delegation. Since McGee and his people were in control, they are blamed. McGee starts, however, with almost solid support from the two major groups who vote in Democratic primaries – labor and the Spanish-speaking in southern Wyoming. The young *Chicano* militants, though antiwar, tend to back McGee because he's the only man in high office who has recognized their community in a state otherwise controlled by conservative Republicans. The Vietnam issue has never been tested here. There's wide concern over "the hippies," even in the most remote mountain retreats; the war itself, however, isn't popular, and it's not hard to find a well-known Republican who will confide that "a lot of people are disappointed with Nixon." The state is in economic doldrums and McGee's seniority on the potent Senate Appropriations Committee hasn't helped it get new industry.

Colorado is different. There, Democrats hold none of the major statewide offices and the party nominee for governor, Lt. Gov. Mark Hogan, is a personable lightweight, the kind National Chairman Larry O'Brien is fond of trotting around the country. There is no one statewide figure in the party who commands the loyalty of organized labor or the minorities, as McGee does in Wyoming. The fight in Colorado is in the congressional races. Here, the best chance for a solid gain is in Denver, where Craig Barnes, a 34-year-old attorney who stunned observers by winning (53-47 percent) the top endorsement over Rep. Byron Rogers (D) in the district delegate assembly, is the antiwar candidate. At 70, Rogers is out-of-touch. Barnes, handsome and sensitive to the voters worries, is speaking on a wide range of issues. He's not finding organized labor so much of a problem.

In the suburban Denver district, State Rep. Richard Gebhardt (D), the 1968 Kennedy manager in Colorado, is mounting a major and well-organized effort to unseat Rep. Donald Brotzman (R), known chiefly as an inveterate handshaker. It's a tough district with GOP tastes (the only Democratic county is heavily labor), but again, suburbanites are uneasy over the war and the inexplicable economic cross-currents. For instance, Denver's unemployment rate is among the lowest in the nation. Yet, the week I was there, the Rocky Mountain *Journal* reported new car sales that week were one-third under the previous year. This was only days before Secretary of Treasury David Kennedy told reporters in Washington that an increase in new car sales across the nation was a "hopeful sign."

On the western slope, Rep. Wayne Aspinall (D), chairman of the House Interior Committee and one of 45 "prime" candidates for Environmental Action's "Ten Most Wanted" list in 1970, has antiwar opposition – Richard Perchlik, the 40-year-old mayor of Greeley. Perchlik got only 27 percent of the delegates in the district assembly, but that might not be an accurate measure of popular sentiment. Tom Gavin, the Den-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ver *Post*'s political editor, quoted an Aspinall supporter from Grand Junction as saying half that county's delegation had wanted to go for Perchlik, and that Aspinall aides had to work into the middle of the night to keep them on the reservation. Perchlik's backing comes largely from college towns such as Greeley and Ft. Collins and intellectual hideouts like Aspen. He's a long shot.

Organized labor in New Mexico is enthusiastically behind both Sen. Joseph M. Montoya (D) and ex-State Sen. Fabian Chavez (D). Montoya has been moving steadily closer to the peace camp since 1968, when he clashed so bitterly with McCarthy forces at the state convention that his wife was booed when introduced to the delegates. Since then, he's voted against ABM and for Church-Cooper. He has drawn a right-wing opponent this year – Anderson Carter, a protege of F. Clifton White. At the moment, Sen. Montoya is favored. A key factor is the business community in Albuquerque, where one-third of the voters live. The GOP has to do well there to win. But businessmen, conscious of the potential of Sen. Montoya's committee assignments (Appropriations and Public Works) appear to be leaning to him.

Chavez's record of opposition to the war goes back some years. He has a real chance of unseating Rep. Manuel Lujan (R) in the northern district (Albuquerque and Santa Fe). Chavez has a wide personal following and at 47 is still the "young turk" who took on the liquor lobby. He's well-known in the heavily Spanish counties of northern New Mexico. A victory for Chavez, Roncalio and Barnes, along with the reelection of Sen. Montoya, would give antiwar forces a solid congressional base in the Rockies, and for the first time.

Paul R. Wieck

The Nixon Watch

Southern Comfort

At the fourth informal press conference that the President has called in his Oval Office, free from the constraints of television and the thought of all those watching millions, Mr. Nixon served himself very well. He was at ease, serious, seemingly candid without once saying that he was going to be perfectly candid. His hands were under good control. He seldom looked his questioners in the eye, but his downward gaze added to the impression of considered care with every answer. He caught the reporters by surprise and didn't have to deal with many vexing questions. He appeared to harden further his recently hardening line on Vietnam – but in terms that, given future need, could be reconciled with a softened approach to a negotiated peace. He renewed his claim to liberalism on foreign trade (against import quotas, excepting a quota for his Southern textile friends). He stepped up his campaign against the Big Spenders in Congress (leaving to the Republican leaders in that body the actual use of the term and its application to Democrats only). And, in the most interesting performance of the day, he brought to a gentle halt the recent tendency among commentators and reporters to bury the Southern Strategy. He removed, for the discerning, any doubt that there has been a Southern Strategy and that there is going to continue to be one.

Mr. Nixon did not say this, of course. He said the opposite, defining the strategy in the way that he and subordinate Republicans have been defining it since he won the Presidency with it in 1968. He and his Administration, he said, are pursuing "what the South has wanted and what the South deserves, a one-nation policy – not a Southern strategy and not a Northern strategy, but a one-nation strategy."

Two elements have been and still are necessary for the successful maintenance of this line. They are the gullibility of white Southern segregationists, founded in their and all white Southerners' need for unceasing reassurance that they are not all that different from everybody else, and Mr. Nixon's skill at the practice of deceit for what he holds to be essential and constructive purposes. He double-crossed his Southern supporters in 1968, he has continued to do so since he took office, and the immediate reaction of one of them, Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, to his open and unabashed resumption of the exercise last week suggests that the President can count upon it working as well for him this year and in 1972 as it did two years ago.

Senator Thurmond, having just savaged the President for deceiving the South in the matter of school desegregation, took it all back after the press conference and thanked Mr. Nixon for doing the white South a favor that he had only pretended to do. "I am pleased," the Senator said, surely knowing better but finding it politic to pretend he didn't, "that the President has reversed the Justice Department on its plans to send carpet-bagging lawyers and marshals into the South in anticipation of trouble over school desegregation." Thurmond had some but not much more reason to note with pleasure "that the Internal Revenue Service is rapidly approving tax-exempt status for private schools that declare an open admissions policy." The Senator was on wholly sound ground only when he said in conclusion: "The prompt manner in which the President has moved in these sensitive areas will be appreciated by his friends in the South." The record in and since 1968 entitles Mr. Nixon to expect that his manner will indeed be appreciated by enough Southerners for his political purposes, even when the reality awakens his deluded constituents once again to the fact

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that there's less to appreciate than he keeps promising.

The comedy enacted by the President and the Senator, and the preceding record on school desegregation, present liberal and integrationist critics of the Administration with a peculiar problem. If they are to understand what goes on and also are to be fair in judgment, they must grant the Administration credit for surprisingly strong action toward desegregation in the last few months, after a period of damaging inaction, without being so guileless as to grant that the action has been taken in good faith. It has been and is being taken in the worst of faith. It has been and will continue to be limited to what statutory law, court rulings and a third factor – Mr. Nixon's personal and political need for credibility in the nation as a whole – require the Administration to do. As I indicated in this journal previously, consideration was given at the White House early this year to justifying a policy of curtailed integration in the South with a plea that anything more wouldn't be worth the pain. That course was rejected by the President, a stronger though not the strongest possible policy was adopted, and the action taken since then has been no less substantial and no less beneficial because it is required.

Mr. Nixon allowed white Southerners to believe in 1968, and Senator Thurmond told them that they could safely believe, that a Nixon Administration would let them get by with "freedom-of-choice" plans of token integration that the courts and federal enforcement agencies had held to be patent frauds. With its wobbly handling of the problem last year, the Administration conveyed an impression that this was indeed its purpose. A Cabinet desegregation committee set up last February and headed by Vice President Agnew was expected in the South (and by me, among others) to cater more to white prejudice than to the law's requirement. A Nixon policy statement on March 24 seemed to promise the least possible enforcement of integration. So the shock in the holdout sections of the Deep South was profound when Jerris Leonard, the Assistant Attorney General for civil rights, and other Nixon spokesmen put white segregationists on notice that their only remaining choice was voluntary, cooperative compliance with statutory and judicial commands to integrate their segregated schools, or compliance to be enforced by court orders and the termination of federal funds. The required integration would be far from complete. But it would be enough to accomplish, as the Administration said, the effective end of dual and formally segregated public school systems in the South at the opening of the 1970-71 school term. A spate of suits against the states of Georgia and Mississippi, and against individual school districts in Mississippi, Tennessee and Texas, demonstrated that the Administration meant business. In Southern minds, these actions and the threat of more to come reduced to nothing the little comfort that could be taken from the accompanying assurances that integration was going to be enforced nationally, wherever the deliberate segregation of public schools could be proved.

The climactic shock came on July 10 when, at the President's instruction and after prolonged debate within the Administration, the Internal Revenue Service announced that private schools established throughout the Deep South to escape integration could no longer count upon exemption from federal taxes as a matter of right. As recently as May 8, the Justice Department had taken the opposite position in a brief asking a federal court to dismiss an injunction forbidding the grant of tax exemption to segregated private schools in Mississippi. Now, the President himself proclaimed through IRS, schools eligible for exemption from taxes on their own incomes and for tax-exempt contributions by donors would have to adopt and publicly declare a policy of open admission to whites and blacks alike. Attorney General Mitchell and his assistant, Leonard, disclosed in newspaper interviews that upwards of 100 Justice Department attorneys, federal marshals and other civil-rights enforcers were to be sent into the South to monitor the integration of previously segregated schools this fall. Senator Thurmond raged, on the Senate floor and in a personal encounter with Mitchell. Thurmond and Clarke Reed, Mississippi's Republican chairman, reminded the President that he could not have won in 1968 without his majorities in the Border South and said he could not expect to win again in 1972 without Southern votes.

It was to this turmoil that Mr. Nixon addressed himself at his press conference. He skipped the matter of tax exemption, leaving it to IRS to explain that it would be as patient and tolerant with applicant schools as the law allows. He had no intention, he said, "of sending vigilante squads, in effect, from the Justice Department, lawyers, in to coerce the Southern school districts to integrate. We have not done that; we are not going to do that. . . . Our policy . . . is cooperation without coercion." Senator Thurmond professed to take this statement to be a complete retreat, but it wasn't. Federal lawyers and other enforcers were still going into the South "to assist in achieving a smooth transition" from segregated to integrated schools and, although the White House and Justice Department minimized the fact, to receive and act upon complaints of fraudulent integration. The real policy was coerced cooperation where it could be obtained, enforced integration where no cooperation was to be found. Mr. Nixon, letting his grammar slip, foresaw in the coming Southern school year "a transition period which will be as least difficult as possible." His hope and his purpose are to get through that transition with his Southern Strategy intact and ready for 1972.

John Osborne

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Mobutu Style

Taming of the Congo

Kinshasa

The patterns of enmities change: as a character says in one of the books of Graham Greene, "I hate as much as I always did but I find I hate differently." But that is not all that has changed in the Congo. From a weird psycho-drama of tribal riots and economic collapse, the Congo now seems poised on the brink of a capitalist revolution. The budget is balanced, the trade surplus mounts steadily, the Mickey Mouse currency, which American charter pilots in UN service once swapped on street corners for their drugstore Confederate bills, seems now about to become the first wholly convertible independent currency in Africa.

How much has not changed? The other day I walked into the garden of an apartment block in the fashionable Kalina section of Kinshasa and tried to recall the feeling I had there ten years before with two colleagues, while an execution squad loaded and clicked its rifles and waited – fortunately in vain – for the command to shoot. Already the present target for Congolese suspicion was in the ascendant, for we had been condemned to death as Communist spies!

The quiet residential street looked painted and lived-in now, the lower floors of the comfortable houses swathed in decorative protection grilles that made them look like great Tunisian birdcages. The apartment block that had once reminded me of a headstone (both the building and the garden were smaller than I had remembered) now had a guard with a spear, and a cat preened itself in the furrows of an aging palm. They have day-watchmen as well as night-watchmen now in Kinshasa, and the walls around everything are higher. Burglaries are diminishing. There is an American police-training program, and it is beginning to show results. Soldiers and policemen are usually polite these days. But last year a unit of "paras" gunned down an undetermined number of unarmed, demonstrating students (the government says six; Berkeley professor Martin Klein, who was there, says 40 to 60).

This is part of the Mobutu style: he has hanged ministerial plotters publicly, and shot an "amnestied" guerrilla leader who came back from abroad at his invitation. Mobutu is not loved, but he is respected – which was Goldwater's description of Victorian Britain.

A few weeks ago I sat in the Manghyia ("where the nation meets") of Kumasi, Ghana, and watched the new King of Ashanti, the most powerful traditional chief in West Africa, raise the blooded convex sword of his ancestors and take the oath of coronation. Then the mace-bearers of the clan chiefs came to swear allegiance: each admonished the new king to be tough with them, to be unforgiving, to "show you are more than just a voice."

Is it good enough in the Apollo age? The official American view is that it is good enough until the Congo is richer, and ready for something more sophisticated. The students want to change things now: there is a wide half-a-generation gap between them and the young leaders. But in fairness it must be said that most Congolese seem to want administration, not politics, a return to the relative prosperity of pre-independence, and then something better.

The harsh, smooth face of Joseph-Désiré Mobutu has been there, somewhere near the top of the power tree in the Congo, since 1960. Vain, unsmiling, honest, hardworking, efficient, what turns him on is a grave reverence for technology. Eighty years ago he would have been the chief who mistreated the first white stranger, then besought the second to go to his country and return with all the latest gadgetry. Should the US, with all its gadgetry, use its considerable influence on him differently? Mobutu will take technical guidance, but no advice would change his character.

In his iron-fisted way he has begun to clean the stables. Former foreign minister Justin Bomboko, the high-living survival of almost every Congolese government, has been put out to pasture. So has Victor Nendaka, who had run the interior and police since Lumumba's time. Former premier, former Washington ambassador and now foreign minister Cyrille Adoula is seriously ill in Switzerland. The Congo's first real technocrat, Congo Bank president Albert Ndele, is ailing. Soon the pretorian guard will be mostly younger – and better educated – than the 39-year-old chief.

His principal weakness is that he brooks dissent with difficulty. With the people, he has the stature of a commander, but is incapable of being a showman. His sense of popular drama is a little distant: he likes pan-African occasions, trade fairs, or hosting (a few weeks ago) King Baudouin and Queen Fabiola of Belgium. A black de Gaulle, he sees his own gestures in a grandiose light: he has joined OCAM, the club of French-African states, but is so opposed to the level of interference which the French buy with their assistance and defense pacts ("coup insurance") that he will not even join OCAM's efficient airline, Air Afrique. (Instead, 47 PanAm executives and technicians are to overhaul Air Congo.) He belongs to EEC but gives EEC goods no tariff preferences. And he gets away with it; he has an unbalanced view of his own excellence, but of little else.

Expelled from high school by the priests for going out of bounds (to the sin city of Leopoldville), he was automatically shanghaied into Belgium's colonial militia, the notorious *Force Publique*, where he became a sergeant-clerk. At Independence he was assistant to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the France-Presse agency correspondent and about to realize his ambition – a training period at head office in Paris, after which he would return as staff correspondent here. Then Lumumba offered him a colonelcy and the post of chief of staff in an army which had never seen a black officer at any grade. (He was later to put an end to the Lumumba chapter in such a way as to start an embarrassing Lumumba legend; in 1967, he took the legend over and canonized Lumumba himself.) He is thus something less of a general than his martial look and martial policy suggest. His background makes him suspicious of the press, the corps he never quite made, and intolerant of the gilded university youth who are dissatisfied with the chances he never had.

On August 3, Mobutu comes to Washington for an eleven-day tour of America. Unless plans are changed, he will be Nixon's only African presidential caller this year. He comes to express thanks for $800 million of US aid over 10 years and for the continuance of substantial assistance now – $20 million annually in AID, the army and police training program, PL480, a largely American subsidized UN program, the Congo Special Fund, and, soon, the Peace Corps, which will work on restoring bush communications – bridges, ferries, etc. Thanks to an AFL-CIO team, the Congo has nearly 800,000 unionists, paying by the check-off system – unique in Africa. The US has built and helps run one of the three universities and the School of Administration. It has brought in investment – flour, oil, hotels, the First National City Bank. And there's more to come.

Mobutu will bring Ndele, who has played a major role in restoring the currency, to Washington with him. He will also bring André Bo-Boliko, the university-trained labor leader who wants to restore the 45 percent of purchasing power lost since 1960 and then peg wages to the cost of living. Up in Guinea, this would be called revolutionary socialism. At the end of the year, Mobutu will go to the polls with a prestige package containing Baudouin and Fabiola, a smiling, congratulatory Nixon, Bo-Boliko's labor achievements, Ndele's revalued, internationally respected *zaire* (worth $2). The poll is a one-party affair, but the primaries are interesting – in one area of Katanga, for instance, there are over 400 candidates for six seats.

There is a long way to go in a country where the basic wage is $16 a month in Kinshasa, $7 in Kivu. One-hundred-thousand whites are back – half the 1958 figure – including 50,000 Belgians. But the picture is not all good. Although import taxes are minimal here, and other taxes reasonable, the average three-course meal in a restaurant costs $21 – three times' Dakar. My old villa, which I rented for $720 a year in the early sixties, now earns $14,400 a year for its owner.

Mobutu is reportedly anxious to come down on the rascals hard, but he does not want to look anti-Belgian, anti-white, anti-"investor." Most of these thieves, after all, are only stealing each other's washing. Mobutu's American friend, Ambassador Vance, a devoted and experienced Arficanist, hopes more cosmopolitan competition will solve these problems. Certainly it is possible to plan here on the supposition of better tomorrows: Gross Domestic Produce rose eight percent last year, and should rise by at least 10 percent yearly from now on. Mineral exports – 80 percent of the economy – are pushing up, as are coffee and cotton. New mineral finds occur almost monthly, and Belgians are having to share the incredible wealth beneath the Congo's crust with those more disposed to share it with the landlord – the Japanese, the Germans, the Americans, even the French.

Italians are building the first stage of the Inga Dam, due for completion in 1972. All 11 stages would take 30 to 40 years and generate as much power as there is in Western Europe now. An Anglo-Belgo-Japanese group may build a $400 million rail extension, cutting out river transshipment for Katangese minerals, and freeing the Congo from dependence on the Portuguese Angola railroad and the "Chinese railroad" now abuilding in Tanzania. The next step would be to build the country's first seaport.

Mobutu has restored order, stabilized the currency, achieved inter-African and even international acclaim. Yet monumental problems remain: an odoriferous capital that had 350,000 people at independence and has over a million now; a national population 65 percent under 21 and therefore redolent with rising expectations; a people whose élite are over 50 percent corrupt.

I had a sundowner with the KGB colonel here – the Russians have to tread warily after two ruptures of relations and more expulsions than anyone can remember. We discussed the early days when his predecessor had stood, in Lumumba's time, among the machine-guns outside the ministries after a semi-riot and said: "Ah, at last some order in this place!" The present KGB man said: "This place makes racists of us all."

Was Comrade Fedyashin wrong in 1960, if the aim was a Marxist satellite? Is the US wrong today to back a friendly, effective tyrant, if the aim is to make a "multi-national Ivory Coast" and let the Congolese play it along from there? Mobutu is the hammer of the reds and the blacks. But because his rule is African first and foremost, he could easily, if provoked, hammer blues and blacks. Certainly the relationship with Washington is cosy; both sides are happy; the annual statistics speak for themselves. The material means to begin to solve the enormous social problems are beginning to come to hand. You remember still the bullets that you might have stopped in a garden and you close your ears to the ones the students stopped last year. And you wonder: is America doing something right in this fascinating, dreadful and promising place?

Russell Warren Howe

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And Now, Mercury

"People didn't think mercury pollution would be a problem. It costs so damn much that they couldn't envision companies throwing it out in their wastes."
– Interior Department spokesman

Government officials are only beginning to grasp the magnitude of the mercury pollution crisis which exploded in March when the Canadians suddenly found lethal doses of the chemical in Lake St. Clair fish. One month later, Americans found the Detroit River and Lake Erie were full of the poison. Since then, four states (Michigan, Ohio, Vermont, Alabama) have shut down their lakes and rivers to fishing, and at least sixteen other states have found potentially dangerous contamination levels in their fish and drinking water. Some investigators talk about declaring the entire Mississippi off limits. There is even the specter of widespread contamination in food crops and animals.

Hardly anyone in America had bothered thinking about mercury pollution before a Swedish doctoral student happened to take a close look at the St. Clair fish. Chemical manufacturers, especially alkali and caustic soda plants, use more than six million pounds of the poisonous metal each year, spewing back 1.2 million pounds somewhere in the environment. Factories like the Dow Chemical Corp. on the shores of St. Clair have been dumping up to 200 pounds a day each for up to forty years, building huge sludge banks on river and lake bottoms, where bacteria transform the inert metal into lethal methyl mercury which then concentrates in fish. The public has been eating the contaminated fish and drinking the water for just as long, possibly undergoing mild mercury poisoning with symptoms such as muscle tremors, nausea, nervousness and depression.

Dow Chemical spokesmen say they didn't know that metallic mercury undergoes a poisonous transformation in water. Yet more than 100 people died between 1953 and 1960 in Minamata Bay in Japan after eating mercury poisoned fish. Sweden banned some fish as early as 1967, and the prestigious scientific journal, *Nature*, wrote about the problem only two years ago.

Major fault lies with the federal government, which has failed to enforce strict water quality standards and has carved up responsibility for checking water pollution among a dozen different agencies.

The Army Corps of Engineers should have stopped the mercury from ever reaching the water in the first place. Under the Refuse Control Act of 1889, the Corps is charged with monitoring all discharge in navigable waterways; factories must apply for permits before they start dumping, and pledge that their waste contains no toxic substances. Until a year ago, Corps officials merely asked companies to itemize any substances which they felt "might have environmental effects," according to Corps general counsel Jacobus Lankhorst. He doesn't recall any company mentioning mercury. But Lankhorst also notes that "most, if not all, of the companies discharging mercury do not have permits"; the Corps never asked for them. "For many years we have been interested primarily in navigational aspects of pollution," reports Lankhorst. "It's only recently that we realized that the broader aspects of pollution include environmental effects as well."

Once the companies dump their mercury sludge, it's up to the Federal Water Quality Administration – the Interior Department's chief water inspector – to find it. FWQA investigators never thought of looking for mercury, although 1968 guidelines list it as a poisonous substance. "We only monitor for constituents that we expect to find in the water," explains William Sayers, chief of the FWQA Surveillance systems. "We never looked for mercury. It's not a cheap analysis to perform, especially on a mass production basis. There are more than 100,000 substances that could have harmful effects. When you don't have the money you must pick out the two or three things that can be analyzed at relatively modest cost." (That might explain why an exhaustive 1965 federal study of water pollution in Michigan, one of the worst contaminated states, failed to mention any mercury.)

"Our monitor system is very, very modest," Sayers notes. Only 140 investigators are hired to monitor all of the nation's waterways, take inventory of every industry dumping wastes, and compile and analyze the data for Washington officials. "We couldn't tell you what the state of this nation's water supply is."

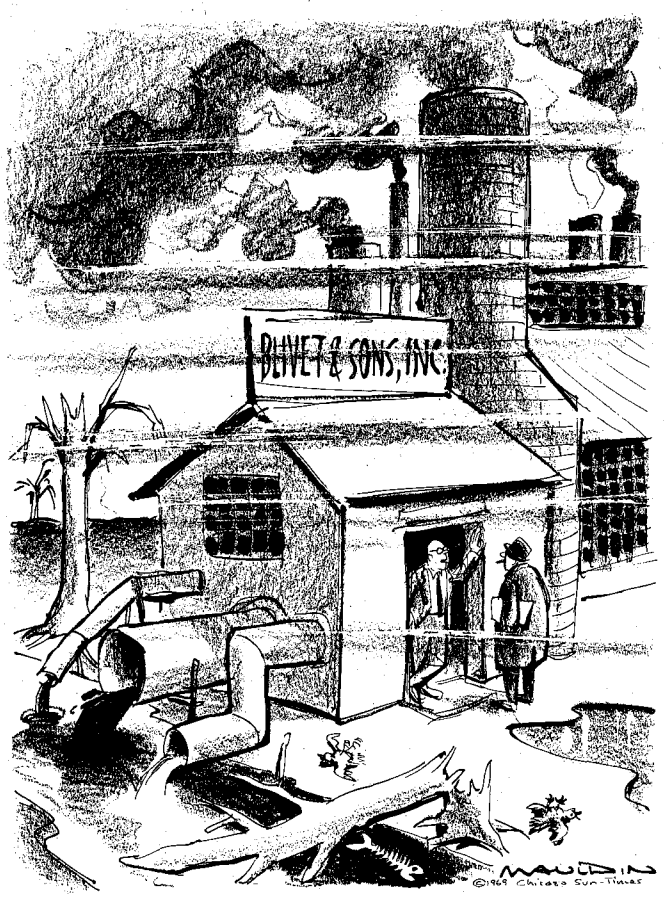
If no one else spots it, mercury that trickles into your drinking water might conceivably come under scrutiny by the Public Health Service's Bureau of Water Hygiene, which monitors interstate water sources and establishes quality guidelines for states. But PHS toxic substances guidelines, written in 1925 and last updated in 1962, don't list mercury. "There was a time when there was a specification for certain minerals," says C. B. Kelly, a bureau research assistant. "But about a year ago they [PHS administrators] ruled we could act only against substances that cause infectious diseases."

Since the government first learned in March and April about mercury pollution, it has done little to stop the poison pouring from the 46 identified factories across the country. Only on July 14 did Interior Secretary Walter Hickel warn that the government will take "immediate" and "aggressive" action against any polluters, unless corrective measures are taken "swiftly" on local levels. Michigan quickly hit its major polluter, the Wynandotte Corp., with an injunction, but the rest of the states have done little but plead with the factories to reduce their mercury discharge. So far, the most aggressive federal action has been a six-month warning, under the 1965 Pollution Act,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

against the Analine Film Corp. in New Jersey. Fortunately, Analine has complied – but under this statute, a 200 pound per day polluter like Dow could dump 180 more tons of mercury before the government could take action. Then, it might take months of suits and appeals before the Justice Department ever could bring the pollution to a halt. The best enforcement possibility lies under the Refuse Control Act, which permits the Justice Department to seek immediate injunctions against polluters or fines of up to $2500 per day. Justice officials could have filed injunctive suits against polluters on their own long ago, as early as the April Erie and Detroit river reports, but they have doggedly insisted on waiting for the Interior Department. Last week Sec. Hickel finally requested action under the Refuse Act against 13 major companies. That's at least a start.

Some factories *have* cut down on their mercury discharge (Interior officials say the only acceptable level is no discharge at all). But any legal action taken against polluters won't do anything about the tons of mercury already lying on river and lake bottoms, continually poisoning the water and fish: mercury stays active for centuries. Science hasn't figured out a way to deactivate the metal, and costs of physically removing it by dredging run up to one million dollars for a trough 150 feet wide, three feet deep and one mile long. Anyway, dredging would upset mercury which so far has lain dormant, and it would cause untold damage to the acquatic environment. To date, no one in the government is making a concentrated effort to find a solution. "The staff [of FWQA] has recommended such a study, but no decisions have been made," says Interior spokesman Dick Hoffman.



"It's a living."

While citizens across the country wait anxiously to see whether their own neighborhood stream has mercury pollution, some authorities have raised the possibility that mercury also poisons us via the air, our food and everyday products. The chemical is used widely in hospitals, laundries, paints and paper products; it evaporates easily and is absorbed through the skin. Three children in New Mexico suffered irreversible brain damage in February after eating a hog fed with mercury-treated seed. Seed manufacturers have used mercurial compounds for years to protect vegetable, grain and fruit seeds from fungi. Government officials could have learned a lesson several years ago when Sweden found dead birds and wildlife poisoned by mercurial seeds. After the New Mexico tragedy, the Agriculture Department did forbid further production and interstate shipment of mercury-treated seeds, but a federal district court in Chicago has issued an injunction against the ban. The poisonous seeds continue to be marketed. Even if the government should appeal and win the case, the seed will sit on the nation's shelves for years. No laws can force private citizens to cease using banned products, and the Department of Agriculture doesn't have the manpower to seize stock supplies.

Besides playing havoc with ecology by killing animals, the seed mercury finds its way into the human food chain in small amounts which may have toxic effects after continued exposure. The mercury compounds may even grow directly from the seeds into their plants, contaminating foodstuffs, from tomatoes and peaches to potatoes and wheat. No one knows the extent of the contamination or its effects; the government hasn't allocated much money for research, and existing analytical tools aren't sensitive enough to trace the mercury.

Sen. Philip Hart (D, Mich.) is delving into this crisis on July 29 and 30, in hearings before his Senate environmental subcommittee. Committee aides say they may ask the President to use his powers of executive order to get anti-pollution gears moving. "The mercury pollution cuts across agency lines," notes a staff counsel. "We need emergency action to fight it." One immediate problem concerns the thousands of fishermen wiped out by the fishing bans, and the seafood restaurants forced to close or fire employees. Federal disaster aid doesn't cover "man-made" or "unnatural" catastrophes, and unemployment compensation will account for only a fraction of fishermen's salaries.

Daniel Zwerdling

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What Really Happened?

The Lockheed Scandal

by James G. Phillips

Air Force Colonel Joe Warren, a crusty cost-efficiency expert, was unmoved by Lockheed Aircraft's attempt to snow him over its C-5A jet transport program. Lockheed's briefing, he wrote Air Force headquarters almost four years ago, was "like seeing the rerun of an old movie – the plot still has drama and suspense, the script was excellent, the acting superb, but the outcome will be the same as it was the first, second or tenth time it was shown. The contract costs will be exceeded." Warren was right. With the Air Force refusing to impose tough cost discipline on a favored aerospace contractor, Lockheed has run up one of the most whopping cost overruns ever experienced on a weapons procurement program. Worse still, there's been no change in the inner workings of the military-industrial complex, which precipitated the C-5 disaster.

New evidence I have obtained indicates that at least $1.5 billion of the $2-billion C-5A overrun was clearly avoidable. In the first place, the Air Force gave Lockheed the contract (probably for the sole reason of keeping the company in business) despite known deficiencies in its design proposal that were sure to lead – and did – to expensive redesign work. Even then, much of the overrun might have been salvaged if the Air Force had clamped down on excessive plant overhead rates and blatant inefficency on the production line. But despite the early warnings by Col. Warren and other cost experts, top Air Force brass and bureaucrats swept these problems under the rug. At every stage, the Air Force's primary interest was in concealing the problem, not solving it.

The C-5 program was destined for trouble from the beginning, and here's why: the contract, signed in October, 1965, contained a novel provision permitting Lockheed to come in with a low bid to land the program, with the virtual assurance of getting bailed out later by the government in the event of trouble. This provision was called the "repricing formula" by the Air Force and later the "golden handshake" by critics. It allowed the company to offset at least part of its losses on Production Run A of 58 aircraft by recomputing the price agreed on earlier for Run B of 57 planes. Although the second run would be undertaken at the option of the government, it appeared almost certain that the Air Force would want the extra planes and more. Air Force long-range airlift plans called for a 120-plane, six-squadron program. The other five planes would be procured from Run C – another option for the purchase of up to 85 planes at a price to be negotiated later.

The "handshake" clause, based on an extremely complicated mathematical formula, provided essentially that if actual costs of Run A exceeded the original contract "target cost" (contract price less profits) by more than 40 percent, target cost of Run B (set at $490 million in 1965) would be increased by approximately $1.25 for every additional dollar spent on Run A above the 40-percent cost growth mark. Cost increases of less than 40 percent would be financed as follows: for increases of 30 percent or less, Lockheed and the government would share responsibility, with the government paying 70 percent. Lockheed's share would be applied against its projected Run A profits of $128 million, which would be evaporated once costs rose by more than 30 percent. If the Run B option weren't exercised, Lockheed would bear full responsibility for all cost growth over 30 percent. But if the Air Force bought Run B, the "golden handshake" would go into effect once cost growth passed that mark. For cost increases of 30 to 40 percent, the handshake would reimburse Lockheed 87 cents on every additional dollar it spent, and above 40 percent, Lockheed would get back $1.25. (Both the 87-cents and $1.25 formulas, however, were pegged to the number of aircraft ordered under Run B, and lesser amounts than these would be paid if the government bought less than 32 of the Run B planes.)

Once a 40-percent cost increase appeared likely, the handshake loomed as a reverse incentive encouraging Lockheed to be less efficient. At this point, it would be in the company's interest to run up even greater costs on the initial production run in order to make 25 cents profit on every additional dollar it spent. Because of the sharing formula on the first 40 percent of extra costs, the cost growth would have to be astronomical before the handshake could turn Run A losses into an

---

James G. Phillips *is a former military editor for* Congressional Quarterly *(four years) and author of a 1968 CQ study on defense spending frequently cited in Congress during military debates. He spent more than three months researching the C-5 issue.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

overall profit on the program. (The original target profit agreed to for the Run B option was only $49-million.) But at the same time, catastrophic losses would be impossible unless the Air Force decided not to buy Run B or the company actually lost money on its Run B operation – a prospect that appeared unlikely because aircraft costs per unit characteristically decline as a contractor gains experience with a program. Undoubtedly, this protection against big losses was an important factor in Lockheed's decision to cut corners on its bid.

Desperate for new business, Lockheed's management in early 1965 ordered its staff's lowest cost estimate reduced by 10 percent in order to undercut its competitors – Douglas Aircraft (now McDonnell-Douglas) and the Boeing Co. Lockheed's bid of $1.9 billion for research and production, including Run B if ordered, was $79 million less than Douglas' and $300 million less than Boeing's. The Lockheed proposal expressed a high degree of technical optimism that was unfounded under the circumstances. It also made little allowance for inflation though the Air Force had warned all three contractors to take that factor into account as a normal business risk over the first two years of the contract (after that, the contract provided that inflationary increases would be covered largely by the government). Nor did the Lockheed proposal make allowance for the fact that the C-5 award was the first of a new type of contract called "Total Package Procurement," under which the contractor would commit himself to a fixed price ahead of time for both research and production – a risky proposition that might have given Lockheed pause had it not been for the protection afforded by the golden handshake provision. Although an Air Force Source Selection Board found Boeing's proposal superior in its technical aspects, Lockheed won the contract on the basis of its low cost bid. The entire program was to cost $3.4 billion, including the airframe, engines and spare parts.

In a move to narrow the technical edge held by Boeing, Lockheed had hurriedly adopted certain design changes suggested by the Air Force just before submitting its bid. It had vastly underpriced the cost of these changes, increasing its bid by only $48 million. At least one high-ranking Air Force official told company management that its allowance for the changes was far too low, but Lockheed ignored his advice.

Almost from the start of development work in early 1966, Air Force cost experts assigned to a top-level headquarters management group began citing evidence of a big cost overrun in the making. A. E. Fitzgerald, the deputy for management systems who later was to lose his job after testifying to Congress on the C-5's problems, noted early in the year that overhead rates at the company's production facility in Marietta, Ga., were vastly exceeding target. Col. Larry M. Killpack, chief of the Air Force's Cost and Economic Information Bureau, found by year's end that several key parts of the program were overrun by more than 100 percent. On Dec. 8, Killpack concluded in a memo to Air Force Headquarters that "Lockheed is in serious difficulty on the C-5A." Five days later, Col. Warren penned his memo. All these reports fell on deaf ears.

As Lockheed admitted later, the reason for its early overspending was a massive redesign effort related partly to the last-minute technical changes the company had squeezed into its contract proposal. The most significant of these changes had been enlargement of the wing to meet Air Force requirements for the plane's short-field landing capability. But reconfiguration of the wing brought on weight problems, which required a new round of redesign work. After Fitzgerald learned of the extent of the redesign effort, he reported that these engineering problems almost certainly would mean a heavy cost impact when the plane moved from research to production.

By late 1966, the C-5's Systems Program Office (SPO), the office charged with day-to-day monitoring of the C-5 contract, joined the efficiency experts in their concern over the C-5's mounting costs. The SPO had become alarmed at indications from Lockheed management that the company did not intend to make good on the full contract performance specifications. One of the developments that bothered the SPO was Lockheed's proposal for a "tradeoff," as the company described it, relaxing the weight requirements in exchange for increased engine thrust, to be provided at government expense. The proposal was rejected.

In an extraordinary move, the SPO on Feb. 1, 1967, sent Lockheed a "cure notice" indicating the contract would be cancelled unless Lockheed presented a satisfactory plan for improvement within the next 30 days. It was the first such action ever taken by the Air Force on a major weapons program. Although Air Force Headquarters questioned the advisability of the action, the SPO prevailed. Standby press releases announcing the move were prepared both at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio, where the SPO is located, and at Air Force Headquarters in Washington. But both were marked for use only in the event of press inquiry, and when press questions failed to develop, neither was ever released. This was one of the most blatant of all the Air Force's cover-ups and one of the most costly in terms of the public interest. Since the plane had not yet moved into production, disclosure of its problems at this stage might have led to enough pressure to induce the Air Force to switch the contract to Boeing or at least bear down on costs.

The cure notice evoked tremendous concern at Lockheed, which was then preparing a public offering of $125 million in convertible debentures. Within the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

next three weeks, Lockheed met repeatedly with the SPO but to no avail. With time running out, Lockheed finally swayed the SPO on Feb. 21, by promising to dispatch a top-level technical team from corporate headquarters in California to help the foundering Lockheed-Georgia management resolve the plane's technical problems. The cure notice was rescinded.

Despite the presence of the headquarters technical team, it was business as usual on the production line. Col. Jack W. Tooley, a former Army airlift expert working as a civilian adviser to Lockheed, reported that he observed incredible inefficiency in the plant. "From time to time," he recalled recently, "since I had nothing better to do, I would walk through the main plant, observing what was going on. The number of workers loafing on the job was absolutely unbelievable. In fact, my major contributions to Lockheed probably were these trips through the production line, since workers seeing me without a badge and in a suit and white shirt went back to work, as they were not sure of who I was."

Tooley added that he talked at some length with one of the supervisors on the production line, who told him that he had "40 more men in his department than he needed; that he was getting about six hours' work out of eight hours; that when he went to ten hours and over, the production dropped to five hours." Tooley also said he knew "personally of two cases where the individual was making $10 an hour, did not have a degree, was not doing anything, and yet spent 60 hours a week doing it because that is what the contract called for. This can be multiplied by many hundreds of times."

The situation was not much better at General Electric's plant in Evendale, Ohio, where the C-5's engines were under production. Here Fitzgerald also found excessive overhead rates and a large part of the work force loafing. After one trip to the facility in early 1967, Fitzgerald wrote Air Force Headquarters: "I observed a total of 134 people, of whom 35, or 26 percent, appeared to be working. The modal pace of work was quite low, approximately 70 percent of normal. Machine utilization appeared to be about 50 percent on the day shift and lower still on the swing shift." Fitzgerald later told Congress that at least $1 billion of the C-5 overrun could have been saved if the Air Force had required reasonable efficiency and economy of work forces at the Lockheed and GE plants.

Annoyed by the continuous appearance of cost analysts, Lockheed and their sympathizers in the Pentagon began seeking their systematic exclusion from the program. Orders were cut sending Warren to Addis Ababa as Air Attaché. Fitzgerald and other friends of Warren at Air Force Headquarters were able to block that appointment, but Warren was still removed from the program and assigned to a Pentagon computer manager job. Killpack was transferred to Vietnam, and Tooley quit Lockheed-Georgia in disgust.

With its technical problems mounting, Lockheed turned to costly and exotic materials such as titanium to help pare down the excess weight. By now the company had found it was useless to try to wiggle out of contract specifications. Despite some expressions of unhappiness at higher levels, the SPO refused to budge.

Without doubt, the SPO's adherence to the contract dealt Lockheed a stunning blow. When the company had run into production problems on earlier programs, the Air Force would often waive specifications or provide enough contract change orders (sometimes called "contract nourishment" in the trade) to ensure that the company came out well. Lockheed's chief development engineer on the program later told Securities and Exchange Commission investigators that he never suspected the C-5 contract would be enforced: "As is so frequently the case with multi-layer management," he said, "someone at the top can say do it this way to avoid this, that and another, and these people down below say here's the contract, but that's just a lot of boiler plate and we'll work together." In its 1969 report to stockholders, the company said the Air Force's strict insistence on performance specifications and delivery dates "resulted in expenses by contractor far beyond the original estimate to avoid ever-present threats of cancellation for default. . . . Contract terms were regarded as sacrosanct even though a relaxation of specifications and delivery dates could have greatly lessened costs."

In May 1967, Lockheed moved from research to the production phase of the program with the plane's technical problems far from resolved. At a meeting of the top-level Air Force management group, at least one official complained that more time should have been spent on development. "This is the first major aircraft system," he said, "to begin operational systems development after completing an extensive contract definition phase. The central idea of contract definition is to define achievable performance and to develop realistic schedules and credible cost estimates in relation thereto. Clearly, Lockheed flunks the course on this basis."

Despite continuing SPO concern over the technical difficulties, Lockheed characterized the problems as nonrecurring and refused to acknowledge their potential impact on costs. Late in 1967, Lockheed-Georgia notified corporate headquarters that "the bulk of the program remains before us, giving us ample opportunity for cost savings. . . ." Although Lockheed added a $90 million contingency fund to its cost estimates by the end of 1967, it explained to its auditor, Arthur Young Co., that it was merely being conservative and that the funds would not be needed. Arthur Young's notes indicate unbounded optimism on Lockheed's part.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The first indication of a really disastrous overrun on the Lockheed program came in April 1968, when the SPO estimated costs of $2.9 billion through Run B, a $1 billion overrun. The SPO figured Lockheed had known about the cost situation since the early part of the year, since the company at that time had "intensified their efforts to maneuver within the contract framework to get the Air Force to pay for work we contend is already on contract. In addition, they started attempting to limit our visibility on program cost."

Nonetheless, Lockheed insisted the SPO projections were far too high, and it pressured the SPO to change them. SEC investigators found later that Lockheed had threatened to follow the SPO briefing team wherever it went, to shoot down their figures.

But with a decision soon due on the Run B option, Lockheed decided to adopt a low profile and hope that, as before, Air Force Headquarters would not become unduly alarmed at another pessimistic SPO estimate. As the SEC staff put it, the rebuttal package was ready if needed "to help protect Lockheed's position in this respect, but would not be used unless necessary because of the danger of focusing attention on the cost increase." The SPO apparently recognized this same motive in June when it wrote that it was definitely in Lockheed's favor to keep the Air Force "in the dark" on the costs of Run A, because of their potentially adverse impact on a decision to exercise the Run B option.

At this point, however, even the SPO, which had been relatively tough on Lockheed, became concerned over the effect that disclosure of its cost projections might have on the company's liquidity position. Its reports to higher headquarters contained the following notation: "Security considerations. You will see we are estimating that Lockheed will overrun the ceiling price of the contract by a significant margin, that is, they will incur large monetary losses on the program. The SPO has treated this information as extremely sensitive in view of the adverse publicity and stock market implications." SPO said there was no pressure from Lockheed or higher headquarters to insert this warning in its report. It said the suggestion was made "purely and simply because the cost figures . . . were estimates and were not concurred in by the contractor. There was a wide variation between the estimate contained in this report and the contractor's estimate. It was felt that should the Air Force prove to be inaccurate subsequent to wide public disclosure, the Air Force would be accused of acting irresponsibly."

Instead, the SPO decided to err on the side of the contractor and let the public be damned. Air Force Headquarters moved quickly to close off possible leaks by directing that the information be limited to top-level reports and be excluded from any document receiving wide circulation. Although Congress had been notified of the SPO's August 1967 estimate of a $331 million overrun, it was not informed of the new projection. Neither was it told of a follow-up study in October, which placed the overrun on the entire program at $2 billion, including $1.5 billion on the Lockheed program. The SEC staff revealed that the Air Force considered rewriting performance specifications at this point to give Lockheed a better break. (Some of the performance specifications were relaxed later, and the Air Force now is planning significant further relaxation in order to avoid another costly redesign of the wing.)

The next episode came in early November, when Richard Kaufman, staff economist for the Joint Congressional Economic Committee's Economy in Government Subcommittee, was setting up a subcommittee hearing on "The Economics of Military Procurement." Kaufman had followed the C-5 program closely and knew of the latest overrun estimate. Although no subcommittee member or staffer had yet contacted Fitzgerald, several Pentagon associates recommended him.

When Kaufman invited Fitzgerald to testify, bedlam broke loose in the Pentagon. Defense Department Comptroller Robert Moot, the Pentagon's top financial officer, warned Fitzgerald that his testimony "would leave blood on the floor." The Pentagon sought to substitute a more manageable witness, but the subcommittee chairman, Sen. William Proxmire (D, Wis.), insisted that Fitzgerald appear. Finally, the Pentagon agreed to let Fitzgerald attend as a backup witness. At the hearing Nov. 13, Proxmire ignored the Pentagon's hand-picked witness and called Fitzgerald immediately to the stand. Fitzgerald confirmed Proxmire's estimate of the $2-billion overrun, leading to his immediate removal from the program and eventual dismissal from his job.

With Congress and the public enraged about the overrun, the Pentagon flatly repudiated Proxmire's figures. Its Public Affairs Office put out a release contending that current estimates for the program were only $4.3 billion instead of the $5.3 billion Proxmire had revealed. Supplementary material requested of Fitzgerald for the hearing record was altered by the Pentagon to show the lower figure. The difference turned out to be the Air Force's omission of some $900 million for spare parts – another item that was badly overrun. The spares were mostly engines and ground equipment – items the Air Force classifies as an operating cost and not as original investment. The Pentagon news release failed to make this distinction, however, thus conveying the impression that Proxmire was overstating costs.

Despite opposition from the Defense Department's Systems Analysis Office, which sought to limit the C-5 program to three squadrons, the Air Force on Jan. 14, 1969, exercised the Run B option, but

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

instructed Lockheed for the time being to limit production to long-leadtime items for only 23 more planes. On grounds of budgetary restraints, the Air Force announced last October that it would curtail the program after completion of 81 planes. With the effect of the golden handshake formula now blunted (because the Air Force was ordering less than 90 planes), Lockheed stood to lose more than $500 million. Contending the Pentagon's exercise of the Run B option required purchase of all 57 Run B planes, Lockheed sued the government for default. (Lockheed now figures it would have broken even on the full 115-plane program.)

The cozy relationships of the military-industrial complex came to light again this spring when Lockheed requested $640 million in emergency financing and Pentagon officials, backed by military enthusiasts in Congress, sought to expedite the company's claim. Even when the Pentagon learned that Lockheed's immediate cash problem had resulted from its commercial program – the L-1011 "airbus" – it still maintained its support of the proposed bailout money. Lockheed was a national asset like the redwood tree.

Even the Securities and Exchange Commission (but not its tough-minded staff) has shown sympathy for the embattled contractor. At the completion of the SEC staff's year-long investigation of Lockheed's cost disclosures on the C-5 program and alleged illegal dumping of company stock by corporate insiders, the Commission announced June 2 that the investigation "did not disclose evidence of unlawful insider trading." The Commission's terse announcement seemed at odds with the findings of the staff's report. Citing specific instances of heavy selling by top corporate officers at critical junctures in the program, the staff raised the "possibility that this was done on the basis of inside information." Rumors abounded that the staff had recommended indictments; the SEC denied it.

Although the SEC release announced the Commission's decision to study cost disclosures on a number of weapon contracts, including the C-5A, it gave no indication of the staff's considerable misgivings over Lockheed's disclosure policy on the C-5 program. In its report, the staff raised the question of "the adequacy of disclosure in annual and interim filings with the Commission and with the [New York Stock] Exchange, as well as information prepared for public distribution." The staff also raised questions as to the adequacy of Lockheed's description of the cure notice in a registration statement it filed with the SEC in March 1967, covering the $125 million debenture issue. The Commission at first put the staff report under wraps but later made it public under stiff pressure from Congress.

As I said earlier, much of the C-5 overrun could have been avoided if the Air Force had really cracked down. Of the $2-billion overrun, less than $200 million can be attributed to inflation. The rest is due entirely to Lockheed's redesign effort and pure inefficiency on the Lockheed and GE production lines. Even if Lockheed had charged an extra $200-$250 million in the beginning to get its design up to a par with Boeing's (or by that same token if the contract had gone to Boeing), the whole program should have cost no more than $3.8 billion, given reasonable efficiency. Thus about $1.5 billion of the overrun should have been saved. As it is, the Air Force estimates that even the 81-plane program is going to cost $4.6 billion – $1.2 billion more than the original contract estimate for 115 planes. Thus far, the Air Force has spent $2.5 billion on the program and has received one operable plane!

Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird has sought to prevent recurrence of C-5 type fiascos by setting "milestones" which a contractor must reach before he moves on to the next phase of a weapons program. This policy means little, however, unless Pentagon bureaucrats clamp down on contractor boondoggling. Signs are thus far that they haven't. Pentagon studies already are predicting a $1-billion overrun on Lockheed's S-3A antisubmarine aircraft program, the first major weapons purchase initiated by Laird. Deputy Secretary of Defense David Packard recently succeeded in preempting headlines about that overrun by issuing a non-story that he had warned the Navy to keep close tabs on program costs. Packard acknowledged only a $100-million overrun on the current portion of the contract and did not reveal the present estimate for total cost at completion.

It is too much to expect that Pentagon bureaucrats will move voluntarily to shape up military procurement. That would involve harsh measures against favored contractors and, for the less efficient among them, a bankruptcy or two. The ties that bind Pentagon bureaucrats and the giant contractors – the mutual interest in huge defense budgets, the promise of lucrative jobs in industry for former military and civilian officials, and the feeling that they must stand four-square against an unappreciative public – are simply too strong for that.

Perhaps the only answer is a series of taxpayer suits against government officials who breach the public trust, particularly with respect to concealment of cost problems that could lead to gigantic expenditures later if not brought under control. Not too long ago, the public wouldn't have stood for the C-5 affair. In 1956, T. Lamar Caudle, an assistant attorney general under President Truman, was convicted and sentenced to two years in prison for failing to prosecute tax fraud cases that came under his jurisdiction. The charge on which he was convicted was conspiracy to deprive the government "of the fair services of Caudle." That law ought to be applied to Pentagon bureaucrats.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stanley Kauffmann on films

The Virgin and the Gypsy

(Chevron)

Two Mules for Sister Sara

(Universal)

The Virgin and the Gypsy is fairly faithful to the D. H. Lawrence original and is therefore fairly silly. This posthumous short novel, unrevised by the author, simplifies foolishly some of the themes used better in, among others, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and *Women in Love*. The recent film of the latter (*NR*, April 18, 1970) was unsuccessful, but at least it had some complexities to dally with. Here Lawrence uses the same opposition of warm blood and cold climate, the "poetic" urge battering at the cabbage-and-potato proprieties that still pertained in England after the First War: but with what baldness and mechanics. And, as filmed, *The V. and the G.*, directed by Christopher Miles, is a color-me-passionate primer, full of italicized symbols: the fumed-oak rectory imprisoning the repressed clergyman's daughter, the black stallion on which the handsome gypsy rides the countryside, the girl's first view of the dam as a crack in it is being repaired, the bursting of the dam that floods the v. into the g.'s arms, and so ludicrously on.

Still, putting the symbols aside, if that were possible, this faded story of life-hungry revolt might have made a tolerable period piece if the heroine had been well played. Joanna Shimkus is an Anglo-French Candice Bergen: a pretty girl who, by trying to act and failing, makes herself unpretty. Miss Shimkus pouts, or doesn't pout, and has a thin, vapid voice that disintegrates if she has two consecutive sentences to speak. (And some of the things she has to say are horrendous. To a friend: "It's as you were saying the other day – life can be very difficult"). Franco Nero, the gypsy, has the asinine job of being the Male Principle incarnate; he tries earnestly, but sinks into repeated ruts.

In 1964 I saw a half-hour film in London called *The Six-sided Triangle*, made by Christopher Miles with his sister Sarah – six comic versions of a love story, an old revue idea and not very well done. Miles was being highly touted as a new talent; yet it took six years for us to get his first (as far as I know) feature. It has all the latest cinema lingo: lush color (as photographed by Bob Huke), dream and reveries sequences in slow motion without sound, exaggerated lyricism (why was the brief trip across the lake *so* dazzling?), lopping off scenes before they actually end to hurry things along. As is now customary with directors of British films set in the country – particularly in the past – Miles gets the most out of stone bridges and old artifacts (a wooden coal-scuttle, for instance), and their beauty has gone a long way to gain him credit for making a beautiful picture, which it is not. Young American directors have developed their own anonymous, interchangeable filmic patter, described here in several recent reviews; young British directors are developing their equivalent, equally interchangeable among them. In both countries they represent the most deplorable aspects of the new film consciousness: linguistic cleverness and novelty as a substitute for flavor and commitment. How can you say I'm not an artist when I've just shown you this ingenious shot in the bedroom mirror?

At the end the ex-virgin goes off with a free-living lady named Mrs. Fawcett and the latter's lover, which the girl does not do in the book, thus cheering up Lawrence's tale of Anglican doom. In the film Mrs. Fawcett is not Jewish, which omits not only Lawrence's persistent anti-Semitism (he refers to her throughout the book as "the little Jewess") but his fascination with her as the outsider who can better afford to Dare.

Two Mules for Sister Sara is a nicely produced gimmick Western – the kind in which fate makes strange allies. Sometimes it's the sheriff and his prisoner traveling through the desert, and the sheriff has to take the handcuffs off the desperate man so he can help fight Indians. Here it's a Texas freebooter who rescues an American nun from triple rape in the middle of the nineteenth-century Mexican desert and becomes involved with her in a plot about French oppression and Juarista patriotism. The cuteness – the nun sleeping near him, his hands on her bottom to boost her into a tree – is all noddingly predictable. The twist about the nun is also telegraphed – prepaid, full-rate – ten minutes after she appears.

Gabriel Figueroa, the Mexican cinematographer, supplies the right romantic colorings and compositions. The original story is by the well-known director Budd Boetticher, who did not direct this picture. Boetticher said in 1968 that he wrote a full screenplay and had been signed to direct it, that he had been replaced, that Universal was trying to pay him off, and that he was suing for $4,000,000. I daresay that he and his screenplay are worth it because, according to Jim Kitses in his book about the Western called *Horizons West*, Boetticher is too complex an artist to be compared with Hemingway, as he sometimes has been: "If we must look for literary parallels," says Kitses, "Chaucer seems more appropriate." (That is only a mild sample of the style of much film scholarship.) But Boetticher's script was discarded, only the story-line was retained, and the final screenplay was written by the non-Chaucerian Albert Maltz.

The director who replaced Boetticher is Don Siegel, an interesting man. He is 58, American, a graduate of Cambridge University, and is one of a dying breed – the men who worked their way up through the busy old assembly-line studios. Siegel broke into pictures in 1932 working in the film library at Warner's, then became an assistant editor, then moved to the Insert Department, then to the Montage Department, and kept going, learning how to make pictures.

He is a good alumnus of his school – a very competent picture-maker whose profession is to make other people's pictures as well as he can. Siegel knows how to shoot action: the climactic attack on the French garrison is better-than-average. He knows how to give a lift to a shot: the camera comes down on a crane to meet the hero and heroine as they move to the garrison gate and then follows them, its motion underscoring theirs. It doesn't matter to

(Continued on page 35)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

James Reston: So Smart So Soon

Early Writings by Walter Lippmann

(Liveright; $7.50)

If you read what any living writer wrote over fifty years ago, you usually wish you hadn't, but this is not true of Walter Lippmann's *Early Writings*, originally printed in *The New Republic*, and now published by Liveright. If they were not written with such felicity, you might well think his commentaries on war, The Presidency, the Congress and the impenetrable stupidity of powerful politicians were written last Tuesday. But the fact is that Lippmann, now 81, wrote them more than half a century ago during the Wilson and Harding Administrations between his 24th and 30th years.

It is really ridiculous for anybody to be so smart so soon. Lippmann was telling off Presidents and tossing around continents almost before he had kissed his first girl. And the enduring remnant of his essays is more relevant to the turmoil of the present age than almost anything written in the English language by anyone of his generation.

Comparisons may be odious, but in a book of this sort, they are unavoidable. One wonders about the differences between Lippmann in his twenties and Lippmann in his eighties, and about Lippmann, the young revolutionary, criticizing what-is and what might-be, in relation to the new young revolutionaries of the present time.

The continuity between the young and the old Lippmann is remarkable. Always he is looking for the ideal, always searching for The Good Society, always accepting the responsibility of the critic to suggest an alternative to the policy he is criticizing. Even when he was addressing Woodrow Wilson when he (Lippmann) was in his twenties, he was struggling with the contradictions and ambiguities of the President's problem and trying, as he did with Lyndon Johnson, to grapple with the President's dilemmas. In short, fifty years ago, as now, he was searching for a way to reconcile contemporary policy with some enduring philosophy. He was disappointed by Wilson, as he was by Johnson, and is now by Nixon, but throughout this long convulsive era, he has argued against violence and argued for reason and compromise.

The differences between the writings of the young and the old Lippmann are harder to define. He seems more personal and pugnacious in *Early Writings*. Later on, like Aldous Huxley in Britain, he became an advocate of the philosophy of detachment – keep away from the men of power, he argued, for they corrupt objective criticism and journalism – but while he argued this as a theory, he became deeply involved with Wilson as a member of the American delegation at Versailles, and he once spent most of a 24-hour day helping write Lyndon Johnson's Baltimore speech on how to reach a compromise on Vietnam.

Lippmann was interested in his twenties and thirties in finding a moral basis for the American democratic system and the American educational process, and while he expressed his doubts about institutional religion in *A Preface to Morals*, he argued for a foundation of common beliefs which would bind the American people together, and give them a philosophic root for their political decisions. There is comparatively little evidence of this in his later writings – until we come to *The Public Philosophy*, published in 1965.

Also, he had much more faith in his twenties in the ideal of "collective security" – of a League of Minds leading to a League of Nations which would defend Western Civilization – than he did later in his life. In his *Early Writings* he seemed to have serious doubts about "balance of power" politics, and much more faith in the power of reason among common people to band together for common purposes.

Nevertheless, it is astonishing how perceptive he was in his twenties about the problems that trouble us today. His comments about the effects of the scientific revolution, and the decline of the old empires at the beginning of the twenties are prophetic. What the critics of today are saying about the policies of President Nixon, and the Vietnam war, Walter Lippmann was saying about the problems of President Wilson in the first world war.

For example, in the January 22, 1916 issue of *The New Republic*, 52 years before Senator Fulbright of Arkansas lectured the country about "the Arrogance of Power," Walter Lippmann wrote:

"There is in America today the beginning of that very military arrogance which we are being told this [first

Sonnet

Uxori quae aetatem bonam habet
et filio nostro qui bimus est

Could I be sure that I shall see the day
When of the love in this young woman's eyes
And of the love of him whose youth decries
My age, I might a hundredth part repay:
Or would interior time, that could delay
The summons chronic with the last assize,
Start running backwards with its timely lies,
I might have time to live the love I say:

Or almost time enough to scan the glyph
That the mind's eye strikes on my shadowy wall –
Read it to learn how God me favored, if
I have the favor to know God at all.
Who let me love you two? Or am I wrong
To love you well who cannot love me long?

Allen Tate

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The massive forces of change seem to be moving toward an organizational gigantism and standardization that undermine the values of individuality. The depersonalization of existence is not only a threat but a constant reality. . . . Hence springs the crisis of the human person." —MELVIN RADER

Individuality and the New Society

Edited by Abraham Kaplan

Six distinguished spokesmen from the fields of biology, economics, philosophy, psychology, government, and political sociology discuss ways of preserving individuality and free expression in a society dominated by technology and bureaucracy and shaken by disillusionment and dissent.

Abraham Kaplan
Kenneth Keniston
René Dubos
Lionel Robbins
Milton Friedman
Seymour Martin Lipset

220 pages. $5.95
At leading booksellers
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS
Seattle and London

world] war is being fought to abolish. It shows itself in contempt for all efforts toward peace, in programs of armament which are vistas of a nightmare, in denunciation of the virtues that make a free and tolerant people, in a hatred of other points of view, in the attempt to haze and ostracize those who have different opinions, and in the assertion of a brittle, touchy impatience at the thought that anything can be adjusted without slamming the table or rattling the windows."

In the contemporary debate over the war in Vietnam, the peace faction often finds itself on the defensive against the "hawks," who equate "patriotism" with nothing less than military "victory" and denounce anybody who would settle for anything less. But this is not new either.

"Which position requires courage and which requires nothing but the willingness to drift with the current . . . ?" Lippmann asked in 1916.

"At a dinner table, in a drawing room, on the stump, in the Senate," he observed, "the easy attitude is to follow the loudest declaration, to go with, and not against, the violence of the tribe. It usually involves no risk, and it is almost always a cheap way to approval.

"Yet there is no guarantee that the fibre of a people is sound because no one appears who is willing to risk the sneers of the angriest. It may be that the people who are ready to sacrifice popularity, to face ridicule, to stand out for reason and adjustment, are the people who really have the bravery that freedom requires."

In his twenties, Walter Lippmann was just as much opposed to the established order as the young revolutionary militants of today, but he was also fundamentally different. He accepted the responsibility, not only of criticizing the contemporary "establishment" of his day, but of defining the alternatives as he saw them.

He put himself the hard task, not merely of talking about what was wrong, but of thinking through and writing out what he believed to be right. He grappled with the imponderables. He took the chance of saying what he thought should be done, and he tried to define policy in relation to a philosophy which he thought would endure.

The result is that, whether he was right or wrong, what he had to say is still worth reading half a century and more after he wrote it. Not many men in their eighties can say that about what they wrote in their twenties. Walter Lippmann has used journalism to serve philosophy, and he is a rebuke and an inspiration to the men of the present and the coming age.

Jonathan Yardley: Women's Lib Gets Rough

Sexual Politics by Kate Millett

(Doubleday; $7.95)

Kate Millett is a professor at Barnard, a sculptor of some note, and a radical feminist. As the latter, she is evidently a seminal figure of sorts in Women's Lib: two years ago she shocked the gentlemen of Morningside Heights with "Sexual Politics: A Manifesto for Revolution," a brief document which summarily dismissed our whole array of sexual customs and demanded their drastic revision. According to the feminist booklet *Notes From the Second Year*, in which the manifesto is reprinted, "*The Columbia Spectator* – and the Columbia Radio station as well – took one look and refused to have anything more to do with it, despite the fact that it was written by a faculty member to whom they had promised the space and time."

Yet for all her undeniable radicalism, Millett (I eliminate the "Miss" in def-

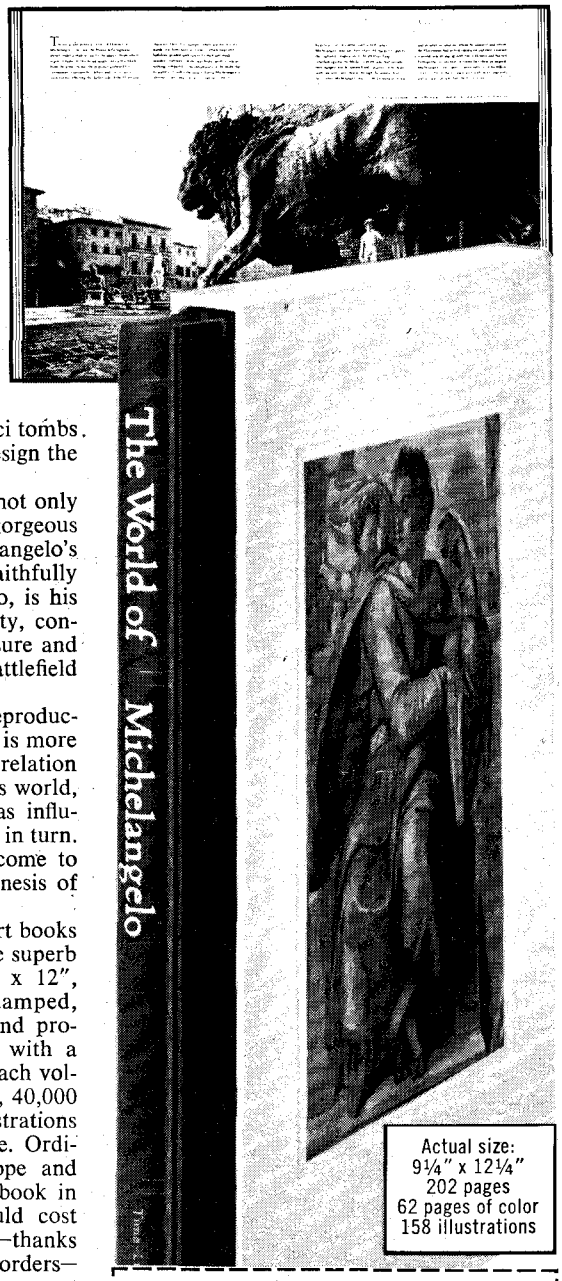
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A cradle of art, a battlefield of ideas...this was

THE WORLD OF MICHELANGELO

Enjoy this magnificent volume
for 10 days as a guest of the

Time-Life Library of Art



Actual size:
9¼" x 12¼"
202 pages
62 pages of color
158 illustrations

He was called "divine" by his colleagues, yet he felt himself a failure... he was the pet of popes, but he was starved for love... he slept in his boots, and his head was filled with the loftiest beauty... he was an ascetic who portrayed the human body with an unprecedented voluptuousness... he claimed he couldn't paint the Sistine Chapel, though it became his greatest triumph... he combined the simplicity of a peasant with superhuman genius. This was Michelangelo.

Introducing the TIME-LIFE Library of Art

TIME-LIFE BOOKS' new series, which covers the whole range of Western art from the Renaissance to the present, begins, appropriately, with *The World of Michelangelo*. For Michelangelo was the very sole of the Renaissance... an archetypal artist whose achievements reduced the historian Varchi to stammering and "trepidations" as he delivered the funeral oration. Brought up by a lowly stonecutter, contracted into virtual bondage by his father, torn by a perpetual tug-of-war for his talents, Michelangelo still was able to dominate the most fantastic flowering of art the world has ever seen.

Though his career was sometimes bedeviled by such distractions as disputing with popes, dodging political assassins, and working with his dinner in one hand, Michelangelo managed to paint the more than 300 figures of the Sistine Chapel, sculpt a sublimely beautiful Pietá, complete the gigantic David, the Medici tombs and the magnificent Moses, and design the dome of St. Peter's.

The World of Michelangelo is not only an absorbing biography, but a gorgeous gallery: you'll see all of Michelangelo's paintings and major sculpture faithfully reproduced in its pages. Here, too, is his Florence, as much museum as city, continually torn among politics, pleasure and piety, a cradle of art and a battlefield of ideas.

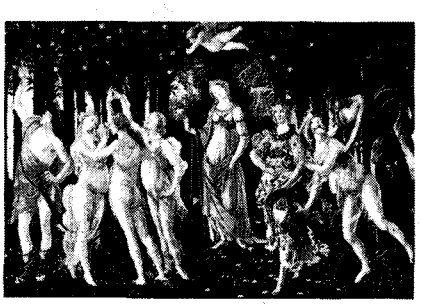
For all its flawless full-color reproductions, *The World of Michelangelo* is more than an art book. Showing the relation between the man, his work and his world, it indicates how Michelangelo was influenced by his time and influenced it in turn. Through Michelangelo you will come to understand the genius and the genesis of all art.

The format of the Library of Art books is designed to frame and flatter the superb pictures in their pages. Over 9" x 12", the books are bound in gold-stamped, specially-treated leather spines, and protected by a hard board slipcase with a color reproduction on its cover. Each volume will contain about 200 pages, 40,000 words of text and over 150 illustrations in full color and black and white. Ordinarily, volumes of this size, scope and quality—vying with a deluxe art book in the number of their plates—would cost $10 or $12. But their price to you—thanks to TIME-LIFE BOOKS' large print orders—is only $5.95.

Read the book first—decide later

Examine *The World of Michelangelo* for 10 days—free. If you are not delighted with the book, simply return it. If you believe Michelangelo belongs in your library, pay only $5.95—plus postage and handling. As further volumes in the TIME-LIFE Library of Art are issued, one will be sent to you every other month for the same free 10-day inspection. You may cancel at any time, and there is no obligation—so why not complete the coupon and send it right now?

Above, Michelangelo's celebrated Pietá. The book also shows works by Raphael, Giotto, many others. At right, Botticelli's **Primavera.**



TO: TIME-LIFE BOOKS, Dept. 0316
TIME & LIFE BUILDING
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60611

Please send me *The World of Michelangelo* for 10 days' Free Examination and enter a trial subscription to the TIME-LIFE Library of Art. With this volume, I will also receive a specially written Introductory Essay by Dr. H. W. Janson and a chronology chart of the major Western artists of the past 700 years. If I decide to keep this book, I will pay only $5.95, plus postage and handling. You may then confirm my reservation to receive future volumes in the series, send a volume at a time at 2-month intervals, at the same price of $5.95. These volumes are also to be sent to me on approval, and I may return any volume within 10 days after receiving it, and may cancel my reservation at any time simply by notifying you. If after examining this first book, I do not choose to keep it or become a subscriber, I may return the book within 10 days, my reservation for future volumes will be canceled, and I am under no further obligation.

NAME _____
Please Print

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Schools and Libraries:
Order Publisher's Library editions
from Silver Burdett Co., Morristown, N. J. 07960
Eligible for Titles I, II funds

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

erence to her sexual egalitarianism, though the omission certainly comes hard) is several cuts above the feminist movement's screechers. Her work appears in *Notes From the Second Year*, but it has little except radicalism in common with "The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm" and similar exercises in Clit Lit. *Sexual Politics* is too long, too discursive, too arbitrarily organized, and its lapses into doctrinaire silliness are maddening, but on balance it is an impressive, sober, provocative study which commands serious attention from male practitioners of the "sexual politics" it so devastatingly defines – not to mention women who lumpishly consent to their own subjugation.

Sexual Politics is nitty-gritty Women's Lib. Men willing to meet the book on its own uncompromising terms will find the experience lacerating, and it is my guess that any sensitive housewife who has never given much thought to her status will be persuaded that she has been an exploited ninny. Though Millett is demonstrably not a man-hater and does not appear to be a clitoral absolutist, her tone is so unflaggingly militant (and irreverent) that only the true-blue feminist will read the book without discomfort. But Millett's militancy, even when overstated or misdirected, is to good purpose, as is that of Women's Lib generally; it forces the reconsideration of entrenched and invidious, but widely evaded, sexual/social assumptions.

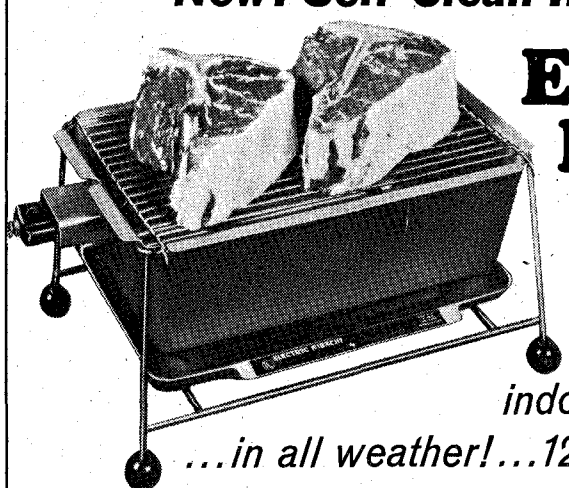
One senses that the book began as an examination of sexism in contemporary literature and ballooned into the "ambitious, often rather overwhelming, undertaking" that Millett self-applaudingly calls it. It opens with "instances of sexual politics" in the work of D. H. Lawrence, Henry Miller, Norman Mailer and Jean Genet; it ends with extensive chapters devoted (with some fine wit and perceptive criticism) to each of the four. The choice is clever but ultimately damaging to her cause. Attacking Lawrence, Miller and Mailer for sexual posturing is the literary equivalent of shooting whales in a barrel, and citing Genet as prophet of the new order ("He appears to be the only living male writer of first-class literary gifts to have transcended the sexual myths of our era") has limited appeal since Millett glosses over the problems inherent in a homosexual viewpoint.

In its middle sections, *Sexual Politics* is concerned with defining its title, revealing the guises in which sexism is masked, exposing its deleterious effects and sketching its history. The book is essentially about female subjugation in the United States, and is wisely assessed within that framework. All its meanderings finally arrive at the consideration of sex in this country as "a status category with political implications," politics being broadly defined as "power-structured relationships, arrangements whereby one group of persons is controlled by another," "a set of stratagems designed to maintain a system." It is, or comes very close to being, a conspiracy theory, a view of history in which a diabolical patriarchy systematically holds women in a state of submission and dependency. Conspiracy is as far-fetched in this case as it was at Chicago, but the evidence that women are treated as a subordinate class, or caste, is considerable:

> What goes largely unexamined, often even unacknowledged (yet is institutionalized nonetheless) in our social order, is the birthright priority whereby males rule females. Through this system a most ingenious form of "interior colonization" has been achieved. It is one which tends moreover to be sturdier than any form of segregation, and more rigorous than class stratification, more uniform, certainly more enduring.

To be sure, we have been depicted as a nation of Momists, we celebrate Mother's Day and fete debutantes, we congratulate ourselves upon the memory of Jane Addams and the presence of Margaret Chase Smith; but the true situation is another matter. We (white) men view women much as, Millett claims, we view blacks: "inferior intelligence, an instinctual or sensual gratification, an emotional nature both primitive and childlike, an imagined prowess in or affinity for sexuality, a contentment with their own lot which is in accord with a proof of its appropriateness, a wily habit of deceit, and concealment of feeling." Isn't our societal "worship" of woman merely a stratagem to lull her into submission, an extraordinary piece of sexual politics "a game the master group plays in elevating its subject to pedestal level?"

New! Self-Clean Infra-Red



Electric Hibachi

now enjoy smokeless "outdoor" barbecue indoors or on patio ...in all weather!...12 months a year!

The reason most of us drool *even thinking* about an outdoor-broiled steak, hamburger, or even a lowly hot dog, is that crispy, crusty brown exterior — that juicy, succulent pink interior — impossible to duplicate on any indoor broiler. Until now!

Now wondrous new Electric Hibachi does the impossible, creates luscious, mouth-watering gourmet steaks, chops, chicken, seafood, hot snacks, that even the most avid barbecue-fan finds impossible to tell from outdoor-broiled. The secret — new, safety-sheathed, UL-approved *infra-red heating element*. 1500 watts of broil-power! Inch for inch, there's never been a broiler this hot, this fast! Sears meat instantly, makes it impossible for juices and flavors to escape, broils away more fats and greases! Does it all without smoke, without steam, without spatter or splatter.

So clean, so attractive, you'll barbecue right on your dining room table (raised, heat-resistant legs protect table tops or linens). Quality made for lifetime service of heavy-gauge anodized aluminum. Bonded with triple-strength steel, plated in gleaming gold! King-size 13" x 9" x 7" broils 2 steaks, 4 chops, 6 burgers, 8 franks, shishkabob for 6. Plugs in anywhere. Full-year guarantee.

Only $17.98 plus $2.00 each for postage and prompt insured shipment.

N.Y. Residents add sales tax. Send check or money order, or charge to your Diner's Club, BankAmericard, or Master Charge Account. (Give account number and signature)

BUY WITH CONFIDENCE. 30-day money-back guarantee.

JAY NORRIS CORP. Dept. W H – 2 31 Hanse Ave., Freeport, N.Y. 11520

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The claim is an example of the brand of partial truth in which Millett excels. Her talent for coating the implausible with a veneer of the plausible is impressive indeed: "Achievement in the arts and humanities is reserved, now, as it has been historically, for males" – a ludicrous statement containing just enough truth to lend it respectability.

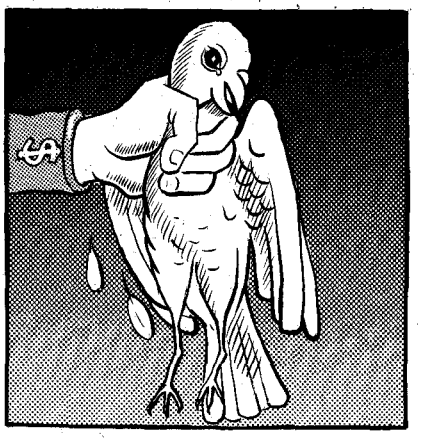
Most of the time her aim is better. It is more true than not that "women are a dependency class"; that their "relation to the economy is . . . typically vicarious or tangential"; that "the military, industry, technology, universities, science, political office, and finance – in short, every avenue of power within the society, including the coercive force of the police, is entirely in male hands"; that "a recent law forbidding discrimination, the first and only federal legislative guarantee of rights granted to American women since the vote, is not enforced, has not been enforced since its passage, and was not enacted to be enforced."

It is also true, though the question is more complex than Millett will allow, that men tend to regard women as sexual objects who exist for male gratification. Henry Miller "has given voice to certain sentiments which masculine culture had long experienced but always rather carefully suppressed: the yearning to effect a complete depersonalization of woman into cunt, a game-sexuality of cheap exploitation, a childish fantasy of power untroubled by the reality of persons or the complexity of dealing with fellow human beings and, finally, a crude species of evacuation hardly better than anal in character." That seems rash overstatement only so long as one conveniently ignores a psychology which produces pornography, which reduces women to "pieces of ass," which considers female orgasm an irrelevant by-product, if it occurs at all, of male pleasure, which embraces a *machismo that* "inextricably" intertwines sexuality and violence.

One would think the girls would have marched on City Hall ages ago, but Millett explains that paternalism stays in office by "passing itself off as nature" – that "masculine ascendancy" is justified by its exponents as being naturally, indeed divinely, ordained. Either we men are great salesmen or women are great suckers, but no matter, Millett presses on. "Masculine" and "feminine" are not the complex natural distinctions we had assumed them to be, but "elaborate behavioral constructs for each sex within society, obviously cultural and subject to endless cross-cultural variations." "Sex is biological, gender psychological, and therefore cultural." Ignore our penises and our vaginas and we should all be the same; in a perfect world, no one would know the difference between Joe Willie Namath and Raquel Welch.

As biologist and anthropologist Millett obviously has her shortcomings, but her point that history has not been kind to the female must be conceded. As historian, she points out that women were generally held in thrall until the early 19th century. In a long, interesting section on sexual revolution and counter-revolution, she argues that the rebellion against male dominion began around 1830 and was "officially inaugurated" with the formation of the Women's Movement at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. The revolution lasted a hundred years, she contends, and accomplished a great deal by way of legal and economic gains, but foundered because it failed "to challenge patriarchal ideology at a sufficiently deep and radical level to break the conditioning processes of status, temperament and role"; it was "reform rather than revolution."

"The Counter-Revolution: 1930-60," Millett believes, was led by Lawrence ("the most talented and fervid of sexual politicians") and Freud (possessor of "unflagging enthusiasm for glorifying the inestimable male organ," fabricator of penis envy), who recognized the threat to male suzerainty and moved to thwart it. That judgment seems to have less to do with the actual movement of history than with the psyches of Lawrence, Miller and Mailer – "some of those who helped to build these [sexist] structures – writers who, after the usual manner of cultural agents, both reflected and actually shaped attitudes." The impact of all three cannot be denied. But neither can we ignore their inflamed sexuality and their obsession with celebrating it. To select them as somehow representative is to evade the problems one encounters in more complex, and I think more honest, male writers who have sought to depict sexual relationships. It is no flattering comment on the thoroughness of *Sexual Politics* that the century's three most important American writers, Faulkner, Fitzgerald and Hemingway, each the prisoner of terribly complex, ambiguous and fascinating sexual at-



TIGHT MONEY
is strangling us doves.

U.S. House Speaker John McCormack has announced that he won't run again this year from Boston's 9th Congressional district.

The race is on for the Democratic primary. With five candidates dividing the vote, chances are good that Louise Day Hicks, whose solution to the district's problems is simply "more police in the streets," will win the Democratic nomination with a *minority* of the total vote.

Ordinarily, that would mean Louise's automatic election in November as the 9th district's representative in Washington.

"Mrs Hicks goes to Washington" is not a prospect that readers of the New Republic can view calmly. Neither could Dan Houton, 31, a Vietnam combat veteran and unequivocal opponent of the war in Vietnam.

So Dan is running as an Independent candidate in the general election in November. But it will take money as well as work to defeat Louise . . . and money is tight, and "peace candidates" are numerous in Massachusetts.

But with national attention focussed on John McCormack's successor, a victory for Dan Houton against Mrs. Hicks will have more impact than almost any other Congressional contest this year; and will make a decisive difference in our country's present policy of foreign involvement.

Will you help us? We must have money to fund our Fall campaign. If you can't afford a big contribution . . . stay home one night and send us the price of a dinner for two. It'll go a long way towards opposing the Vietnam war . . . all the way to Washington.

Dan Houton
for Congress 9th District

HOUTON FOR CONGRESS COMMITTEE
392 Boylston St.
Boston, Mass. 02116

Dear Dan:
My money's tight, too. But it'll get tighter if we don't get out of Southeast Asia. Here's my contribution:

Name .....

Address .....

.....

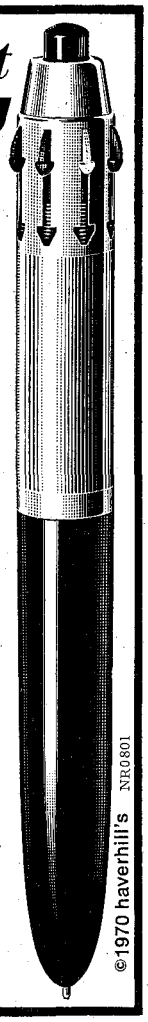
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

titudes, are mentioned in passing or not at all. Millett is right: "the adventure of literary criticism is not restricted to a dutiful round of adulation, but is capable of seizing upon the larger insights which literature affords into the life it describes, or interprets, or even distorts." But neither is it restricted to the analysis of those writers who happen to confirm a critic's preconceived notions even when their accuracy as social mirrors is, to put it most kindly, questionable.

If Millett had been willing to be less ambitious and more flexible, *Sexual Politics* would be a better book. It is too much of a literary-anthropological-sociological - historical - psychological grabbag to be a clear success in part or in sum, and its regressions into Women's Lib rigidities diminish its many splendid inquiries into sexual attitudes. Like Women's Lib it is most useful when it explores the daily forms of sexual discrimination, least when it wanders into biological theorizing. It most deserves our attention when it asserts that "the great cultural change which the beginnings of a sexual revolution represent is at least as dramatic as the four or five other social upheavals in the modern period to which historiographical attention is zealously devoted." If the book is received properly the rewriting of history may begin; for we *have* ignored the history of women, and demeaned it, just as we ignore and demean its makers.

A final caveat: as a male who is trying to kick sexism but has no particular expectation of doing so, I welcome the taunts and challenges of Kate Millett, but I am not sure they bear the seed of a final answer. That a society without sex, or without gender, is a desirable goal, seems to me unlikely. A nation finally rid of the canard of the ethnic melting pot should not rush to create a sexual melting pot. Our discriminations and cruelties are bitter ones, but our differences are healthy; we need to eliminate discrimination, not difference. A woman who has the refreshing arrogance to claim, as Millett does, that "the female possesses, biologically and inherently, a far greater capacity for sexuality than the male, both as to frequency of coitus, and as to frequency of orgasm in coition," should be the the last person to urge that such unique attributes be eliminated in a wave of "unisex." But then maybe Women's Lib is more complex than even the radical feminist realizes.

Just $1, but who really needs it?



Wish we could tell you that your life will be enriched and your spiritual powers enhanced through the magic of OCTOQUILL, our eye-popping, quasi-psychedelic 8-color (honest!) ballpoint pen from Italy. But no...this won't happen: all you'll get out of the incredible OCTOQUILL are countless hours of fun, the knowledge that you can reproduce anything (from a rainbow to a Chagall) in its true colors, the ill-concealed envy of your associates, and ...the certainty that somebody will swipe it from you in short order. Turn our compulsion to win new friends to your advantage and order your OCTOQUILL today. Simply clip this ad, write your name and address on the margin and mail it to us with a $1 bill (no checks please—our fuddy-duddy bankers say they can't handle it). We'll also send you our remarkable catalog AND (will wonders never cease?) a $2 GIFT CERTIFICATE which you may apply to any future purchase. Oh yes, only one per customer and PLEASE, be patient and a little trusty and allow 3 to 4 weeks for delivery.

haverhill's
582 WASHINGTON STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94111
PHONE (415) 981-5688

©1970 haverhill's NRO801

Television

Let's Do a Study

Frank Stanton, the president of CBS, told the Eisenhower Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence that in all his 30-odd years in the broadcasting business no one had been able to "get a fix" on the impact of TV violence. Science, you see, hasn't established an unequivocal, one-to-one, relationship between aggressive behavior in children and what they watch on television. And that's good – for the networks. They've never seriously wanted conclusive evidence, especially of a negative sort that would require them to alter their programming. Of course they know perfectly well, according to Robert Baker, the antitrust lawyer who served as co-director of the Eisenhower Commission's Task Force on Media and Violence, that excessive violence is harmful to youngsters; that's why they cut murders from ten seconds to seven, have gunshots occur off camera, and let their actors get people knocked out instead of being bludgeoned to death.

The history of studies of terror on the tube is as long as it is boring and inconclusive. Harold E. Fellows, then president of the National Association of Broadcasters, promised a Senate subcommittee in 1954 that the NAB would undertake a survey; it was still undertaking it in 1961, sort of. Actually, as James T. Aubrey, later fired as president of CBS, told the Senate that year, CBS was doing the study for the NAB. Published in 1963, the nine-year effort turned out to be a review of what parents thought television did to their children. It offered, in the words of its author, "no direct evidence."

The trick is to keep the studies going; then nobody can say you don't *care*. So, more than six years later, we had another one, done through something called the Joint Committee for Research on Television and Children, and *that* proved the inadequacies of previous studies. Joseph T. Klapper, director of social research for CBS, used it to say again that evidence is muddled. ABC and NBC, which with HEW were parties to the Joint Committee, had, according to the Eisenhower Commission report, "sponsored virtually no original research." And that is as it should be, said ABC: "Research should be done from an objective standpoint and one that the public would be satisfied with as being done objectively, rather than that which is directly financed by our particular company."

The Eisenhower Commission concluded that habitually viewing violence on television "increases likelihood" of aggressive behavior, and that to the extent that TV violence is depicted as "wrong" it is less likely to adversely affect children's behavior. Beyond that the Commission's staff study recommended . . . what else, more research.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Even before the Commission's report came out last year, an impatient Senator Pastore wrote to HEW Secretary Robert Finch, asking Finch to make a further study – one that would once and for all give us some useful data on a medium which the average 18-year-old has watched more than 22,000 hours. Pastore wanted the National Institute of Mental Health at HEW to do the same kind of job on TV violence that HEW had done on smoking and lung cancer. The Senator's request got a quick and favorable response, which was no surprise. According to Robert Baker, the study notion was put in Pastore's head by people who wanted to see NIMH given at least $1 million for fresh research. NIMH went ahead.

In its first progress report to Pastore in October 1969, NIMH said its report would "be confined to scientific findings and the committee will make no policy recommendations." That must have been a relief to the networks. Not that they needed reassurance: the three networks had been allowed to pass on the membership of the NIMH committee. Seven potential commission members had been blackballed; one or another of the networks considered them unqualified (or overqualified) on the grounds that they had already studied TV violence and come to unfriendly conclusions. For instance, Albert Bandura, one of the seven and a professor at Stanford, had published research suggesting that children become more aggressive after watching violent action on TV. Ditto Leonard Berkowitz, a psychology professor from the University of Wisconsin.

How do we know all this? Because Douglas A. Fuchs, a hundred-dollar-a-day consultant to the committee, with the title research coordinator, ratted on HEW to a reporter for *Science* magazine. He also disclosed the curious fact that five of the twelve committee members are, or have been, in the direct employ of the networks. One is an NBC vice president, one is director of social research for CBS, two others were paid consultants to CBS, one was a CBS research executive.

What did Bob Finch say to that? Well, he said, "it was probable . . . that the report of the advisory committee would contain substantial criticism of the industry." So, "*to protect the Government* from the charge of establishing a biased committee whose recommendations would be suspect, the industry should be given the opportunity to identify any individuals whom it felt were not impartial." Nobody asked Finch to explain how the procedure would affect charges of bias should the committee report information generally *favorable* to the TV industry. As a further justification, HEW gave us one of those lovely, bureaucratic half-truths: the same procedure was used in selecting the group that studied cigarettes and cancer several years ago. The tobacco industry *was* allowed to blackball candidates for that study; but so was the American Cancer Society, and in the end no tobacco industry people served on the committee.

Where does all this leave consultant Fuchs? It leaves him out. He quit his job with NIMH in June, a disgruntled "non-person." Fuchs says that for the four weeks prior to his departure, Dr. Eli Rubinstein, assistant director of NIMH and head of the research study, refused to speak to him. Dr. Rubenstein says it was two weeks.

Sedulus

Notes on Contributors

James Reston *is vice president of* The New York Times. Allen Tate's *essays have recently been re-issued by Morrow.* Jonathan Yardley *is book review editor at the Greensboro* Daily News.

Correspondence

Family Assistance

Sirs:

I am pleased to see that the Family Assistance Plan is coming into public debate again. Although Daniel Moynihan in print is never quite as good as Daniel Moynihan in person, the exchange of views in your July 18 issue between Lucy Katz and Mr. Moynihan was both informative and interesting.

However, I must take issue with at least one aspect of Mr. Moynihan's rejoinder. He asks rhetorically, "Can we not get back to the facts?" and then distorts the facts about the relationship between the FAP and food stamps. He would have us believe that "the Administration proposal provides a base income of $1600, plus $864 in Food Stamp entitlement." What he fails to point out is that this food stamp entitlement is good only if the FAP recipient happens to live in a county that has a food stamp program. Eleven-hundred and twenty-five counties in the US do *not* have the program. FAP recipients in those counties would *not*, under the Administration plan, have any food stamp entitlement.

Mr. Moynihan also fails to point out that those FAP recipients who do live in a county having the food stamp program would have to pay $408 out of their $1600 FAP benefit to get their $864 stamp bonus. In effect, this means that a family of four with no outside income which avails itself of its full food stamp benefit will end up with more stamps than cash: $1272 in stamps and $1192 in cash. This reduction in the cash available is certain to be a strong disincentive to full use of the stamp entitlement.

Finally, Mr. Moynihan fails to take note of the fact that even the limited food stamp bonus he has in mind is dependent on the passage of food stamp reform legislation by the Congress. The Senate passed an excellent bill in September 1969, but the House Committee on Agriculture has deliberately obstructed further action. Indeed, even now it is holding a food stamp bill hostage in a blatant attempt to coerce urban congressmen into voting for the increasingly unpopular farm bill.

Nevertheless, the intention of the Administration proposal to provide a food stamp supplement to the FAP cash benefit is good, even though the proposal itself fails to do so. To achieve that intention, the Senate should add Amendment 582, cosponsored by 44 senators, to the FAP. This amendment has several clear advantages over the Administration's proposal: (1) It makes FAP recipients automatically eligible for food stamps regardless of whether they live in a county that has the program. (2) It would provide the food stamp bonus without first making a deduction for the purchase price from the already meager FAP cash benefit. (3) It bypasses the House Agriculture Committee.

David M. Ackerman
Washington, D.C.

In reply:

Mr. Ackerman's numbers are approximately correct; 1184 counties in the United States do not have a food stamp program. But of these, 1155 do have a commodity distribution program. In

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AUTHORS WANTED BY NEW YORK PUBLISHER

Leading book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly and juvenile works, etc. New authors welcomed. For complete information, send for booklet NR-1. It's free. Vantage Press, 120 W. 31 St., New York, N.Y.

I REQUIRE . . .

a "dating service" that

- ☐ has outgrown pop prattle about the "swinging scene" (ages 21 to 65)
- ☐ has the enlightened versatility to match flower children and Wall Street tycoons (although only sometimes with each other)
- ☐ has penetrated bigtown anonymity to dare deal only with its more cultivated, intelligent, literary community (48% through personal referrals)
- ☐ offers exclusive, expensive, exhaustive, individual processing by trained consultants
- ☐ A LOOK AT YOUR OUTSTANDING QUESTIONNAIRE

MIND MATES

Bureau for Interpersonal Relations

1 East 42nd St., New York, N. Y. 10017

MU 2-3757

CHRISTMAS CARDS AND GIFTS

The Museum's 100th anniversary catalogue of Christmas cards and presents—rare American blown glass, sculpture, ancient jewelry in gold and silver, a selection of rings, and the magnificent 1971 Engagement Calendar, "Flowers for All Seasons." ☆ New designs for the famous Museum cards include works by Fra Angelico, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Rembrandt, El Greco, Bruegel, and Degas, medieval enamels, frescoes, della Robbias, and early American crewel embroidery. All cards and presents, except the books, are made especially for the Museum and can be bought *only* by mail or at the Museum itself. The catalogue will be mailed about September 1.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art
255 Gracie Station, New York 10028

Please send me the Museum's new catalogue of Christmas cards, 25 cents enclosed L4

*Name*_____

*Address*_____

_____ ZIP_____

those counties FAP recipients would receive commodities instead of stamps. A family of four with FAP income only would be eligible to receive either $864 in stamps, or $775 in commodities.

When the Administration took office, 480 counties, many of them with large numbers of poor families, provided no food assistance of any kind. But as the result of a sustained effort by the Department of Agriculture the number of counties with no program has dropped to 29, with an estimated 48,000 eligible persons.

The policy of the Administration is to move as rapidly as possible from the commodity programs to food stamps, and eventually to replace food stamps with cash payments, presumably folded into the FAP formulae. During the last 18 months, a majority of the counties brought into the system have gone directly to food stamps, and many, formerly on commodities, have shifted over.

Perhaps I should have made this point earlier, but I would plead that the legislation is endlessly complex, and that it is the essentials that matter. The essential is that FAP families would be entitled to some additional food assistance, and that for the very low income families this assistance is relatively large.

Daniel P. Moynihan

Not Knight

Sirs:

Stephen R. Barnett asserts in your issue of July 18 that "representatives from all the large newspaper chains . . . descended on Washington" to lobby in behalf of the "Newspaper Preservation Act."

Not so. At no time have representatives of Knight Newspapers lobbied for the Act, nor have we ever advocated its enactment.

John S. Knight
Editorial Chairman
Knight Newspapers, Inc.

Conscientious Objectors

Sirs:

William Pelfrey in "Face Down: Climax to the Hardship Tour" (July 18) writes, "The complex issues debated on campus dissolved into three choices for us: go to jail, duck out of the country, or become part of the military." Once in the military a man still doesn't necessarily have to go to Vietnam. Contact with a good military counseling group could help. Few are aware, for instance, of one alternative: conscientious objection. Army Regulation 635-20 states that a man may apply for discharge as a conscientious objector if he becomes one after entering upon active duty. Though the law requires that the man be opposed to participation in all wars it is perfectly legal for him to say that he does not know what he would have done in World War II or, for that matter, what he will do ten years from now. . . .

Mark Sheldon
formerly 2LT Infantry USA
Honorably Discharged as Conscientious Objector
Cambridge, Mass.

Farmers' Squeeze

Sirs:

John Schnittker's article on "Farm Payments" (June 27) is valid in calling for an end to large payments to a few big farmers. (Would Schnittker also call for a limit of $10,000 in profits for each war contractor since these profits are paid out of tax revenues too?)

The former Under Secretary of Agriculture is strangely silent, however, about the cost-price squeeze on the typical family farmer of America. This squeeze was deliberately instituted by Ezra Benson under Eisenhower and continued under Orville Freeman in spite of glowing campaign promises on the part of Democrats. (Today, corn is about 60 or 80 cents a bushel less than 20 years ago; yet the cost of tractors had at least tripled.) The squeeze has meant a forced migration, especially by young people, from rural to urban areas; and it will eventually mean a few big monopolistic farms in the nation. Once agriculture is monopolized at the farm level as well as among processors, consumers can then expect to really pay for their food!

Urban people do have an interest in farm policy, both to stop migration and to stop farm monopolization. Perhaps, Democrats ought to revive the Brannan Plan, which provided 100 percent of parity supports for smaller farmers with a cutoff for the big farms. Or has

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Democratic Party been captured by "big biz," which favors cheap farm prices and bankrupting two million more farmers?

James M. Youngdale
Minneapolis, Minn.

Kauffmann, *from page 24*

Siegel that the characters are clichés, the acting is atrocious, the plot laughable, the dialogue dumb, and the patriotic theme only a peg to hang killings on. Siegel shoots and edits his film well, and that is supposed to be enough.

So what if Shirley Maclaine, the nun, sounds like a Woolworth rejectee? So what if she wears blatant lipstick and false eyelashes when she is supposed to be a nun – and a mid-nineteenth-century one? So what if Clint Eastwood, the hero, is a robot with a robot's electronic voice? Siegel photographed them well, and that's all that some people ask.

Sara has been compared with Peckinpah's *The Wild Bunch*, which seems to me absurd. The other film had severe faults, but most of it was genuinely related to a pressing theme: violence as the American dynamics. *Sara* is not really about anything except making a Western. Its angers are not hot, its bullet-riddled men never really die. There are no feelings in it except one: absolute security from real feeling, in the great embracing arms of Hollywood fakery. This film is an attempt to keep the old Hollywood alive – a place where nuns *can* turn out to be disguised whores, where heroes *can* always have a stick of dynamite under their vests when needed, where every story has, not one but two cute finishes. Such a Hollywood and its works have often been great fun, and I hope it continues. But I also hope that we can keep distinctions clear. Milton Caniff is not George Bellows, Norman Rockwell is not Edward Hopper. Don Siegel is not even Sam Peckinpah.

SUMMER SCHEDULE

During the summer months, *The New Republic* will not appear on

August 8
August 22 September 5

Weekly publication will be resumed with the issue dated

September 12

Personals

SCHOLARLY PUBLISHERS: CUT PRINTING COSTS! Specialist Linotypes/Produces 100-2M paperbound periodicals, monographs, directories, etc. Thoughtful production/Impressive $avings. Contact: Unicorn Farm (NOT PUBLISHERS!) Gilbertsville, N.Y. 13776.

COMMUNITY YOUTH CENTER based on Christian Humanism needs your tax-deductible $$ NOW! or we close. St. Francis Youth Center, 1205 Pine Ave., San Jose, Ca. 95125.

LEGAL, PLEASANT TURN-ON, South American herb. Brew like tea. Great with lovemaking. Hurry before legislation turns us off. Quarter pound $7.50. Kilos $50.00. M.O. or cash. Omnibus Ltd., P.O. Box 544, Cambridge, Mass. 02139.

INDIAN (MEXICO) ART. Original designs painted in glowing colors on bark. Approx. 11"x14". Momark Arts, 2472 Bolsover, Houston (Tex) 77006. $2.95.

"JUST MARRIED" bumperstrip for getaway car. Esthetic; professional. 2/$1; 6/$2.50. Wry Idea Co., Rye, N.Y. 10580. Airmail, 25c extra.

HELP! Send $1.00 to found FREE SCHOOL, an educational oasis in the desert of Long Island. THE LEARNING TREE, P.O. Box 823, Westbury, New York.

ATTRACTIVE, ATHLETIC, HIGHLY INTELLIGENT INTELLECTUAL and educated, warm, modern young woman invited to correspond with similar professional man. New Republic Box #4745.

AUTHOR (mostly non-fiction) 50-plus, seeks to enliven feminine perspective via stimulating correspondence with erudite man of liberal convictions. New Republic Box #4740.

MEXICAN BLOUSES! White, lace trimmed, $7. Large, colorful embroidered flowers (traditional "China Poblana") $10. Smalls, mediums. Uriah Heeps, Edgartown, Mass. 02539.

MAKE YOUR WILL. Why delay? Get 4 Will forms and attorney's information book. $1.00. Legal Forms Company, Dept. 25, 1850 Guardian Building, Detroit, Michigan 48226.

"INSTANT PSYCHOTHERAPY" describes quick, easy hangup-removing method. Handbook $2.00. Vector, 3463 North Knoll Drive, Hollywood, California 90028.

WRY IDEAS. Unusual catalog. 25¢ (deductible). Wry Idea Co., Box 178-N, Rye, New York 10580.

BLACK FEMALE INTELLECTUAL. Isolated. Lonely. New Republic Box #4730.

LOOK AROUND . . . Scientifically. A compatible match is more fun than a chance acquaintance. Com/Pair Systems, the "People-Matching People," provide a professional established service. Send for a free Questionnaire. $15 fee due when you return questionnaire. Com/Pair Systems, Inc. NXR, 194 Nassau St., Princeton, New Jersey 08540.

BLOW YOURSELF UP! 1½'x2' poster of anyone. Send returned snapshot $3.00. Pierpoint Products, Box 678, Inglewood, Calif. 90307.

FIFTY BOOKPLATES, Great Illustrator Series, Mail $1.00. Bocceco, Box 32P, Buffalo, New York 14214.

HEMORRHOIDS? Send $2.00 for information that could prevent operations. SHANGRI-LA, Bonita Springs, Florida 33923-NR.

ABOLISH MODERN SLAVERY—Learn how you can help migrant farm workers. Send $1 tax deductible donation to Migrant Services Foundation, Inc., Dept. NR, 395 NW 1st Street, Miami, Florida 33128.

NEW IDEA-PACKED SAMPLER top quality social-professional Personalized Stationery — 25c (postage-handling). Dignified whites — rainbow colors. Jacques, 310 East 25th St., New York, N.Y. 10010.

WORLD'S LARGEST CROSSWORD PUZZLE! First edition . . . giant card-table size . . . over 4,000 squares! Unique gift! Only $1.00 postpaid. BRAINY, Box 213-D, Chatsworth, California 91311.

RETIRE TO AN INEXPENSIVE LIFE OF chess, music, the cultural arts and intellectual endeavors. For details: AMERICAN CHESS SOCIETY, 240 West 73rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10023.

OUTRAGEOUS THINGS BY MAIL. Catalog 25c. Durgin, Box N2065B, Hanover, Massachusetts 02339.

INDIAN TIE-DYED Ruffled pants, $22; Gypsy Skirt, $25; Matching Tie-Dyed B.V.D. tops, $7.50. All Smashing! Uriah Heeps, Chappaqua, N.Y. 10514.

ABOLISH ALL ABORTION LAWS. The right of each adult human to own his or her own body is the paramount moral law. The word human means exactly Homo sapiens natient.—AAAL, POB 36122, Los Angeles 90036.

OVERSEAS POSITIONS offer high salaries, free travel. Comprehensive new "Guide to Employment Abroad" covers all possibilities, all occupations, sixty countries. Includes exclusive "Directory of American Companies Overseas." Only $2.00 postpaid. Satisfaction guaranteed or payment refunded. Hill International Publications, P.O. Box 79-N, East Islip, New York 11730.

AMPLIFY LOVE & MUSIC with legal, pleasant high. Indian herb. Brew like tea. Guaranteed. Quarter pound $8.50. Kilos $60. Check or M.O. Odyssey Imports, Box 145, Conway, Mass.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS. Send writing sample and $5 to Elisabeth King, 41 East 29th Street, New York, New York 10016.

SLEEP-LEARNING; HYPNOTISM! Strange catalogue free. Autosuggestion, Box 24-NR, Olympia, Washington.

WE BUY OLD PHOTOGRAPHS—daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, tintypes, platinum prints, etc. SIEMBAB, 162 Newbury, Boston, Massachusetts 02116.

KODACOLOR PRICE-BREAKTHROUGH—Perfect prints, 8 or 12 exposure rolls $2: 20 exposure, $3. Full credit unprintable negatives. Money-back guarantee. We pay postage both ways! Send $2 and film or write for free mailer. Mystic Color Lab, Box R-144, Mystic, Connecticut 06355.

AMERICAN INDIAN CHILD, the most underprivileged of all. Your $15.00 monthly sponsorship will help one continue his schooling. Correspondence, visits, photos, reports. For a brochure write: Futures for Children, 5612 Parkston Road, Washington, D.C. 20016.

Peace Personals

TINY HANDMADE CERAMIC LAPEL PINS. Peace/Zodiac Symbol. Blue/red on white. $1.25. Box 638—Saratoga, California 95070.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BUMPERSTICKER—AMERICANS FOR PEACE in red, white, and blue with flag on left of copy and peace symbol on right. 3/$1, 20/$5, 100/$18, 1000/$100. Check with order. Great fund raiser. Peace Center, 396 Cedar Lane, Teaneck, N.J. 07666 NR.

"MAJORITY FOR A SILENT AGNEW." Buy this and 400 other buttons. Also buttons made to order, bumperstickers, decals, beads. Wholesale & retail. FREE catalog. Suite 503-C, 160 West 46th Street, NYC, NY 10036, (212) 581-4199.

WEAR THE PEACE DOVE. Quality 3/4" pin. White enamel/gold. $2.00. Thaler, 27 White Birch, Pomona, N.Y. 10970.

READ "Key to the Mastery of Life" by Lao Tze. Over 2,500 years old. Still valid! $5.00 Postpaid. Universal Life Church, Box 6143, Patterson Sta., Baltimore, Maryland 21231.

HOW MANY VIETNAMESE FOUGHT IN OUR CIVIL WAR? and VIETNAM—LOVE IT OR LEAVE IT. Poster $2.00. Bumperstickers 4/$1.00. Buttons 4/$1.00. Stamps, 66/$1.00. International McClelland, Dept. NR, Beverly Hills 90210.

BUMPERSTICKERS, DECALS, BUTTONS. Low-cost, custom made advertising for your Business, Special Event, Organization or Political Campaign. Buy direct from manufacturer and SAVE! Write for FREE Brochure, Price List and Samples. Please state intended use. REFLECTIVE ADVERTISING, INC., Dept. NR, 873 Longacre, St. Louis, Mo. 63132. Phone (314) 423-5495.

EASY RIDER SHIRTS American Flag, MORATORIUM blue "V" hand sign, HARVARD STRIKE red fist-black letters, PEACE blue peace symbol. "T" shirts, $2.50, SWEATSHIRTS, $3.50. Sizes Sm 34/36, Med 38/40, Lg 42/44, XLg 46. Prepaid. KAY 4, Box 6-NR, Glencoe, Illinois 60022.

HUNDREDS ARE ORDERING our "Peace on Earth" stationery. Send 25c for colorful useable samples. Jacques, 310 East 25th Street, New York, New York 10010.

POSTERS (over 250, many anti-war), BUTTONS (over 200), BUMPERSTICKERS, PEACE JEWELRY & EARRINGS. Wholesale & Retail. Free Catalogue. A BIG-LITTLE STORE 1077 Mission, San Francisco, California 94103.

PEACE IS PATRIOTIC DECALS, POSTERS, ADS. Flag and dove design with Peace Is Patriotic. Decals 12 for $1. 20x29 Posters 5 for $1. Peace Is Patriotic, Harrisonburg, Virginia 22801.

PEACE DOG TAGS—Metal, with dove and peace symbol. On chain. 6/$5.00 or $1.00 each. PEACE PRODUCTS, Box 81-N, Hempstead, N.Y.. 11551. Money-back guarantee.

"McGOVERN FOR PRESIDENT" Bumperstickers, 5/$1; Buttons, 4/$1; Matchbooks, 50/$1; Emery Boards, 10/$1. McGovern Products, Box 10002, Kansas City, Missouri 64111.

WORLD PEACE requires ESPERANTO text, record loaned FREE. Esperanto Library, DEPTNR, Middleton, Wisconsin 53562.

UP AGAINST THE WALL BUTTONMAKER! 10% discount to the Movement. All custom-made. Send $1.00 (refundable) for price list. LARRY FOX, Box 581-N, Hempstead, New York. (516) 825-7706.

Public Service

ARE YOU A HUMANIST? Join with others who believe in science and knowledge for the benefit, not destruction, of mankind. Free information: American Humanist Association, Dept. NR-7, 125 El Camino del Mar, San Francisco, CA 94121.

Literature

BACK DATE MAGAZINES: Send needs. Midtown, Box 917-NR, Maywood, New Jersey 07607.

FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION? *Mod Donna*, off-Broadway play by Myrna Lamb, hits hard at our 'whores and wars' society. Published in July-August *International Socialist Review*. Write for a copy: 873 Broadway, 2nd floor, New York, New York 10003. $1.00.

BODY POLITIC, a quarterly magazine devoted to the people's health, opposes profit medicine, offers in-depth radical analysis of the health system. $7.00/year, 1951 Turk, San Francisco 94115.

FOR A FRESH INSIGHT INTO THE NEWS, read the WEEKLY PEOPLE, the voice of Marxian Socialism. 6 mos. $1.50; year $3. Sample copy on request. Box 200, Brooklyn 11202.

RADICAL paperbacks, hardcovers. Political, science, sociology, economics, etc. Discounts to NR readers; free catalog. HAMMOND BOOK SERVICE, Box 198NR, Upham, North Dakota 58789.

New WHOLE EARTH CATALOG $3.00 postpaid. Saturday Booksellers, 507 Fifth Avenue, NYC 10017.

POEMS WANTED FOR QUARTERLY PUBLICATION. Submit several. POETRY PAGEANT, Box 3677-RNB, Washington, D.C. 20007.

I'm RICHARD. I write BOOKS—publish myself—SAMPLERS 25¢. Want one? Richard Liebow, 948 Market, Room 512, San Francisco 94102.

PAUL GOODMAN, AMOS KENAN, and new Jewish writers in "Response". Sample $1. Response, Room 3C, 160 West 106th Street, NYC 10025.

QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN RONALD REAGAN, $2.00. Community, Box 4006B, Berkeley, California.

THE MAJORITY REPORT, Special Edition on stopping the war: action suggestions from 8 Senators . . . Dick Gregory proposes movie boycott . . . Harold Hughes for President. 25¢ single copy; $3.00 yearly. 1935 N. Freemont, Chicago, Illinois 60614.

Authors

WRITERS — "UNSALABLE" BOOK MANUSCRIPT? Try AUTHOR AID ASSOCIATES, 340 East 52nd Street, New York City 10022.

Foreign Studies

SOVIET SAFARI: HUNT RUSSIANS (and get to known them) on 3-week non-political exchange visits departing 7/30, 8/24, 12/16. All ages, occupations eligible. Citizen Exchange Corps, Dept. NR 8/70, 10 West 46th Street, NYC (LT 1-8113).

Schools

SPECIAL SUBSCRIPTION for students, teachers and armed forces personnel to The New Republic Magazine. $6.00 for one year (a Saving of $6.00) or $4.00 for eight months. Mail payment and this ad to the New Republic Subscription Department/381 West Center Street/Marion, Ohio 43302.

COLLEGE ADMISSIONS AND TRANSFERS — Specializing in difficult cases—college dropouts, transfers, undergraduates, medical, graduate, law, dental. College Admissions Center of N.Y., 102-30 Queens Boulevard, Forest Hills, N.Y. 11375 or call "Richard Collins," 212-BR 5-2900.

QUAKER STUDY CENTER—Suburban Philadelphia. Workshop in social change and nonviolence. Seminars on Quakerism, art, Buber, religious community, poetry, and crafts. Write: D. R. Fradley, Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pennsylvania 19086.

MORE LEARNING OPPORTUNITY, great environment. Write now for catalog. ROCKY MOUNTAIN COLLEGE, Billings, Montana 59102.

MONTESSORI INSTITUTE OF ATLANTA teacher training course for teaching children 2½-7 now accepting applications for September 1970. Accreditation and diploma granted: ASSOCIATION MONTESSORI INTERNATIONALE. Write P.O. Box 12054, Atlanta, Georgia 30305.

THE SCHOOL AT KIRKRIDGE—Coeducational boarding community seeks girls (a few boys' spaces also open), grades 10-12, in forest and farm campus on the Appalachian Trail overlooking the Poconos, 85 miles from Manhattan and Philadelphia. All-teach-all-learn intentions among 40 boarding students, 12 teachers, linked to Kirkridge Retreat-and-Study Center founded 1942. Thorough college preparation, concern for social causes, seriously ecumenical orientation, dedication to late-teen motivation and self-discovery, for students with good academic potential. Write The School at Kirkridge, Box 1, Bangor, Pennsylvania 18013. Phone 215-581-8954.

MONTESSORI INTERNATIONAL TEACHER TRAINING—A.M.I. diploma awarded for successful completion of course. WRITE: Director of Training, Southern Montessori Institute, Assumption Academy, 1517 Brickell Avenue, Miami, Florida 33129.

DO YOU TEACH? We suggest you enliven your class by using The New Republic. On bulk orders of ten copies or more to a single address, the cost per copy is only 15c. Write to the Classroom Dept., New Republic, 1244 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Employment Opportunities

EUROPEAN-FOREIGN EMPLOYMENT — Detailed report on currently available jobs—Europe, Australia, Africa. $3.00. Eurojob Report, Box 52643-P, Lafayette, Louisiana 70501.

JOBS! JOBS! and more JOBS! Men, women, students, teachers, Foreign, U.S.A. Year-round and summer jobs. All occupations and trades. For information, write "JOBS," Box 475 (NR7), Lodi, California 95240.

EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR

Innovative, economically and racially integrated Preschool in Inner City seeks Director to lead it in areas of academic enrichment, and fulfilling community day care needs. Apply by sending resume to Washington Preschools, Inc., 2312 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AUSTRALIA WANTS YOU! Government Assisted Passage. 50,000 Jobs. 1970 Government Information and Forms $1.00. Special reports on Employment, Business, Taxes, Housing, Education, Ranching, Farming, Teaching, Maps, etc. AUSTCO, Box 3623-EE, Long Beach, California 90803.

SCHOOL DIRECTOR. International, multi-racial, secondary day and boarding school seeking Director starting June, 1971. School is co-educational and non-profit in beautiful country setting. Requires candidate with energy, leadership and vision. Send vitae, references to New Republic, Box #4755.

BOOMING AUSTRALIA wants you—Latest Australian Opportunities Handbook describing Government assisted passage, living allowances, employment, business, farming, teaching, hunting, fishing—plus application forms and Employer's list $1.00. Buckeye, Box 1032 HO, Fairborn, Ohio 45324.

EXCITING OVERSEAS JOBS. Directory $1.00. Research Association, Dept. N, Box 942, Belmont, California 94002.

WANTED—Family doctor to help develop inner-city group practice in conjunction with black community organization and family medicine group. Will evolve into neighborhood health center. Please contact Eugene S. Farley, Jr., M.D., Family Medicine Program, 335 Mt. Vernon Avenue, Rochester, New York 14620.

WRITE FOR TELEVISION. Will establish. "Writer," 22841 Calabash, Woodland Hills, California 91364.

OVERSEAS JOBS. High Pay, Travel, Adventure. Directory of Over 100 American Firms Now Hiring for Overseas Projects. $1.00. TRANSWORLD, Box 90802-EE, International Airport, Los Angeles, California 90009.

Retirement

WHERE TO RETIRE OR VACATION. Where Costs are Low! Norman Ford's 100,000 Word Book, "Off-the-Beaten Path" covers Hundreds of World Paradises. Only $2.00. The Gift Gallery, Dept. 2D, P.O. Box 38143, Dallas, Texas.

RETIRE AND LIVE CHEAPLY? 200 places worldwide: weather, altitude, population density, useful tips. $2. New Republic, Box #4750.

Property-Sale/Rent

BOOK STORE. Want to buy. University, college or literate community. Please send particulars including price. New Republic Box #4715.

VERMONT LAND circa Burlington, Lake Champlain, skiing, God, etc. Dr. Dahl, Charlotte, Vermont, 05445 or (913) 649-9153.

PEACEFUL COLONY, gracious homes, ideal climate, fraction U.S.A. cost. Kenney, Jungapeo, Mich., Mexico.

FURNISHED COTTAGE for rent in Grenadines. $90 week. Danielson, Mispay, Union Island, St. Vincent, West Indies.

Vacations/Travel

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE—$1.75. Rates, schedules, 700 passenger carrying freighters. TravLtips, 40-21, JEN, Bell, Bayside, N.Y. 11361.

AUTOBABYSITTERS OF NYC. Indoor Parking. Rates lower than outdoor airport/pier parking. Pick-up/delivery—airports, piers, hotels. Branches throughout NYC. Savoy Garages, 827 Sterling Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. (212) 493-9800.

HEALTHFUL VACATIONING—Reducing. Fasting. Rejuvenation. Organic foods. SHANGRI-LA, Bonita Springs, Florida 33923-NR.

287 EUROPEAN HOTELS, 167 cities, 24 countries. Excellent, inexpensive. Prices, addresses. $1.00. Voyages, Ltd., Box 24684NR, Los Angeles, California 90024.

SWISS RESORT, AAA, amidst nature. Modern comfort. Swimming, tennis; Swiss cuisine: excellent library, Snowvillage Lodge, Snowville, New Hampshire 03877. Tel. Conway 603—447-2818.

Greenery

AMERICA'S OLDEST GROWERS of Oriental Bonsai. Free Catalogue. Heirob Bonsai Nursery, Hampton, Livingston Manor, New York 12758.

Cookery

TEA DEVOTEES naturally select Grace Rare Teas. Free brochure. Grace Tea Importers, Dept. 78, 79 Wall Street, NYC 10005.

OUTSPOKEN REVIEWS of Los Angeles Restaurants. Monthly. Sample, 25c. Jean de Belley, Box 3569-N, Santa Monica, Calif. 90403.

WINEMAKING KIT . . . $4.98. Free recipes—Catalog. JIMDANDY, Box 30230-XX, Cincinnati, Ohio 45230.

Arts and Crafts

MONTHLY MASTERPIECES
Today's best origami drawn, explained for all to fold. FREE BOOK (new subscribers); "Basic Paper Folding." FREE EXAMPLE: send stamped return. ORIGAMI, 5082 Lincoln, Chicago 60625. $6/yr., available to #1.

EROTICA FROM ANTIQUITY. Collection of 32 unabashed copyprints, $4.98. Otto F. Reiss, 243 East 39th, N.Y.C. 10016.

"GETTING STARTED IN STAINED GLASS" 25¢. Whittemore, Box 2065PP, Hanover, Massachusetts 02339.

FINE CRAFTS—Ties, candles, ceramic windchimes. Free catalog. A self-help people's project, 915 11th Street, Columbus, Indiana 47201.

FOR A QUARTER plus a 20¢ stamp I will send you an original pen-and-ink drawing (via airmail). Suzen, New Republic Box 999.

COLLECT ORIGINAL SIGNED ETCHINGS and lithographs by America's foremost artists, including Dobkin, Florsheim, Greenwood, Hirsch, Landau, Margulies, Raphael Soyer, from $15. Free catalog with 47 illustrations. (Mail 25c for handling.) Associated American Artists, Studio 6, 663 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C. 10022.

LITHOGRAPHS, ETCHINGS: Chagall, Miro, Braque. Moderately priced: Illustrated catalogue, 50¢. George Kirschner, 90-59 56th Avenue, Elmhurst, New York 11373.

THE FIRST NAME IN THE BLACK ARTS, Occult Magic, Satan Worship, Witchcraft, Talismen, Spells & Curses. Catalog $1.00. BEZALEEL Box 117N, Cresskill, N.J. 07626.

VEST-POCKET ABACUS & instructions, only $1.75. Kildonan Scientific, Box 161, Station C, Winnipeg 9, Manitoba, Canada.

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Box 28F, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

Music

BURTON HARPSICHORD KIT—5 OCTAVES (61 Keys), Burton Jacks (patented), Spruce Soundboard. Write: Herbert Wm. Burton, 917 "O" Street, P.O. Box 222(N), Lincoln, Nebraska 68501.

Learn to play SCOTTISH BAGPIPES. Begin with the quiet practice chanter, book and L.P. record of instruction by a champion piper-teacher. $21.00 postpaid. It will keep you fit, too. Scottish catalogue 25c. Scottish Imports Ltd., 174 Grant Ave., Rm 71, San Francisco 94108.

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

FREE 64 PAGE CATALOG Offers hundreds of recordings of rare Renaissance Baroque and Classical music. Introductory records as low as $1.00 each! All late recordings. In Stereo only. MHS Records, Box 932-NR, New York 10023.

FALL IN LOVE with a Neupert Harpsichord. Magnamusic Distributors, Inc., Sharon, Connecticut 06069.

SASSMAN HARPSICHORDS. Kastenbau construction. Meticulous craftsmanship. Brochures. Gregoire Harpsichord Distributors, Charlemont, Mass. 01339.

GUITARISTS—Too busy to practice? Five minutes weekly teaches folk strums, barres, melody. Beginner — advanced. Samples 10¢. Steel's, Box 114, San Rafael, California 94902.

EASY TO PLAY AND MAKE instruments; Thumb Pianos $10, kit $5; Dulcimers now $45 up, kits $18 up; Psalteries, Banjos; Dulcimer book, record; HERE, INC. #N, Box 341, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440.

MUSICAL DELIGHT for a lifetime: a Sabathil harpsichord from Vancouver, Canada.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) 60c
Per word 6 times in one contract year .. 55c
Per word 12 times in one contract year.. 50c
Per word 24 times in one contract year .. 45c
Per word 48 times in one contract year .. 40c

Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year

24 & 48 Insertions Billed Monthly with One Month's Payment in Advance.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Printed by Merkle Press, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Science of KINESICS:

Does this girl want to be touched?

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

MAR 13 1973

Can YOU read the signals?

Julius Fast teaches you how to penetrate the personal secrets, both of strangers and intimates, by correctly reading their

BODY LANGUAGE

EVERYBODY KNOWS someone like Mike. He enters a roomful of strangers . . . spots an attractive young woman on the other side of the room . . . and a half hour later is leaving the party with her.

How does Mike do it? He has an intuitive understanding of the *kinesic* signals that people send out. If *you* don't have Mike's intuition, you could learn what he knows. And you could use a copy of Julius Fast's new book, *Body Language*.

> "BODY LANGUAGE is an intrepid journey into a little-known world. It is full of unexpected revelations and gems of insight."
>
> —DAVID REUBEN, M.D.
> (Author of EVERYTHING YOU ALWAYS WANTED TO KNOW ABOUT SEX BUT WERE AFRAID TO ASK)

Imagine yourself in any of these situations: on a date; playing poker; at a job interview; selling your house. Body Language – or kinesics – can help you achieve your goal.

Kinesics is concerned with the "underworld" in which people unconsciously telegraph their private thoughts by the way they fold their arms, cross their legs, sit, stand, walk, use their hips, bosom, eyes – even the subtle way they move their tongue and lips.

The book tells you how to read and understand these body movements, and how to make use of this hidden power.

Here is a sample of the information packed into this, the only book of its kind . . .

- How to make advances without taking chances!
- How to read *shoulders*. (Is this person in a good mood? Angry at something? Frightened? Can you depend on him at this moment?)
- How to read the uncontrollable muscle reaction in a man's eyes when he gets a really good poker hand.
- Body language between sex partners. How to communicate feeling and need when there is *no* talk.
- How to enter a roomful of strangers, take inventory of body positions and tell *instantly* who the "important" people are.
- The power in *touching* people. When to touch. When *not* to touch. *How* to touch. A science in itself – and worth mastering.
- How to use Body Language to assume *leadership* and maintain control of a group. How you can use body language "tricks" to *defeat* leadership in others.
- How to instantly recognize fear, loneliness, defensiveness in a stranger. How to break down these insecurities and make people open up to you.
- How your boss uses body language to assert his authority. How *you* can begin using the same tricks to accelerate your advancement to the executive chair.
- How people employ body language in *teams* without realizing it.
- How to ascertain who is the real head of the family, the husband or the wife.

RISK-FREE EXAMINATION

We believe this is the most important applied psychology book in over a decade. But we ask you to decide for yourself. Examine *Body Language* for 10 days. If you don't agree just send the book back and you'll receive an immediate refund in full! Mail coupon below with $4.95 to your bookseller or J. B. Lippincott – Evans, Box 146, Philadelphia, Pa. 19105.

Use coupon below for 10 days'
RISK-FREE EXAMINATION

J. B. LIPPINCOTT — EVANS
Box 146, Philadelphia, Pa. 19105

Please send, postpaid, Julius Fast's new book, BODY LANGUAGE. My payment of $4.95 is enclosed. If not pleased, I may return book within 10 days of delivery for immediate full refund.

NR-10

Name_____

Address_____

City/State_____ Zip_____

In Pa., N. J., N. C., N. Dak., Ark., Cal., N. Y., Tenn., add state and local taxes.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED